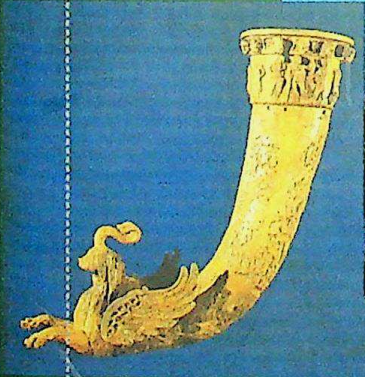
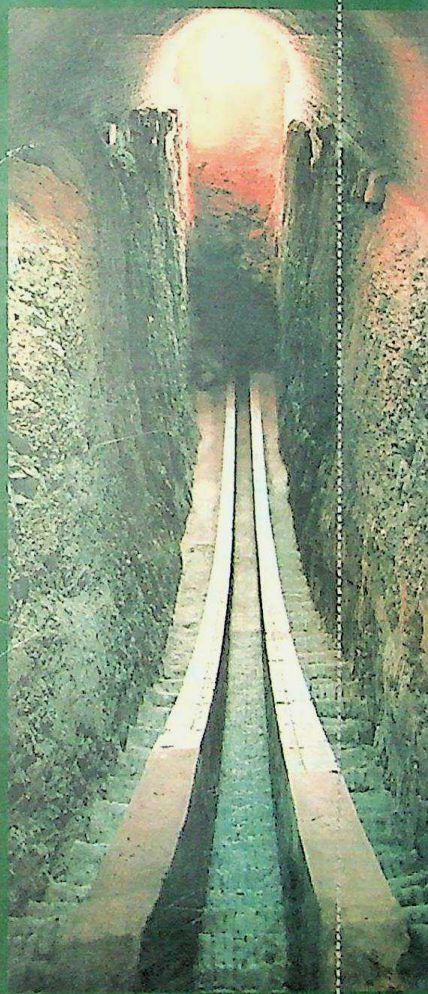
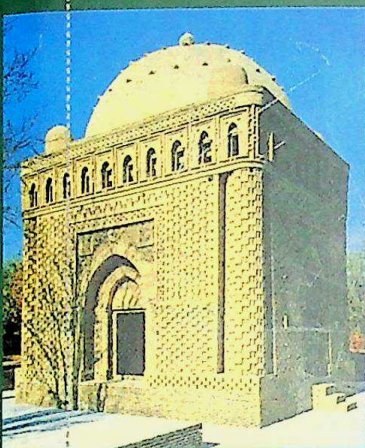


Central Asia

Pre-Historic to Pre-Modern Times

B.G. Gafurov



Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies

This work is the English version, published for the first time, of the second edition of the two-volume magnum opus of well-known Soviet Tajik orientalist B.G. Gafurov, brought out in 1989 from Dushanbe in Russian language. The first Russian edition which was published in 1972 from Moscow was followed by Tajik and Persian (in Arabic script) editions as also in the Polish language translated from Russian.

Though titled *Tazhiki*, Gafurov's work is, in fact, a well-researched comprehensive historical account of the march of the peoples (not just the Tajiks) living on the compact territory of Central Asia from times pre-historic to the threshold of the modern age. Creatively developing upon the foundations laid by outstanding Soviet scholars V.V. Bartold, A.A.Semenov and M.S. Andreev of the 20s and A.Iu.Yakubovskii of the 30s of the previous century, Gafurov's work makes use of a plethora of historical sources of the most varied character to work out on the basis of his own research on Tajik history, as also the researches by a host of Soviet scholars in the post-war period, an interdisciplinary framework for understanding the history and culture of the closely linked Central Asian peoples bound by age old civilisational ties with India, Iran, Afghanistan, China and Russia.

Some of the problems analysed in the book are level of development of culture and economy of Central Asia, ties with the neighbouring countries, the Aryan problem, cultural synthesis between Central Asian, Iranian, Indian and Hellenic cultures, chronology and culture of the Kushans, besides history and culture of Tokharistan and Sogd. The Marxist approach of the author is reflected in his emphasis on issues related to economic development and social transformation & the popular struggles against foreign invaders and indigenous oppressors and tyrants.

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Pre-Historic to Pre-Modern Times

Vol. 2

B.G. GAFUROV

Introduction by
Devendra Kaushik

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Kolkata


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Introduction

The publication of English translation of the famous work of Tajik-Soviet scholar B.G. Gafurov – *Tajiki* (in two volumes), first published in Russian from Moscow in 1972 – by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Kolkata, is a significant landmark in the development of its programme of Central Asian Studies. It marks the completion of an important task assigned to the Institute by the then Prime Minister of India Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, who in his inaugural address at the International Conference on Central Asia held in New Delhi on 28 July 1999 to commemorate the 90th birth anniversary of Gafurov, urged the Institute to have this work “translated into English and Hindi for the use of Indologists and other scholars in India and elsewhere”.

Babajan Gafurov was a child of the Pamirs – a geo-cultural meeting point of the great Eurasian landmass comprising the countries of India, China and pre-Soviet Russia which included Tajikistan. Born to poor parents on 31 December 1908 in Ipsar village of Khojent district then in Samarkand province, Gafurov's father, Gafurov Sanginov, was a gardener turned railway worker. His mother Raziya Azad who toiled on the estate of a landlord became a famous Tajik poetess in the Soviet era. Babajan received his education in a state-run children's home. He was later sent to study at Moscow Institute of Journalism. Afterwards he studied law in Samarkand and started his career as an Assistant Editor of national daily *Kyzyl Tajikistan*. After taking his Ph.D degree in 1941 on the topic — “History of the Ismaili sect from the beginning of the 19th century to the first imperialist war”, Gafurov entered politics becoming the First Secretary of the

Communist Party of Tadjikistan in 1946. Besides a historian of international repute, Gafurov was also an able administrator and a far-sighted politician. In 1956 he took over the stewardship of the world renowned Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, a position which he held until his death in 1977, passing on his mantle to Y.M. Primakov. He assumed the leadership of the Institute in 1956 in the aftermath of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. At the 20th Party Congress, Soviet President Mikoyan had observed, that while the entire Orient was awake, the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow continued to remain asleep. However, things began to change radically during Gafurov's stewardship of the Institute in the following two decades. The old dogmatic and sectarian approach towards India and other newly independent countries was discarded. An active programme of research in the field of Indology was undertaken by the Institute under Gafurov as a result of which a large number of Indian works on literature, politics and international relations were translated into Russian and other languages of the USSR.

Gafurov was a great organiser of academic activities. In 1960 he organised the 25th International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow of which he was elected President. In October 1968 he organised an International Conference on the Kushans in Dushanbe. Scholars from 22 countries drawn from Asia, Europe and America participated in it. It was at this conference that I happened to meet him for the first time. The conference presided over by him was such a great success in inspiring the participants and the local Tajik people by the message of religious-cultural harmony leading to prosperity bequeathed by the Kushan era, that, I still remember, how even ordinary men on the street began suggesting that Dushanbe might be better renamed as Kushanbe. During this conference Gafurov hosted a dinner for the Indian and Pakistani participants. I recall how he recounted in a highly animated state his overland travel to India in his dream.

I met him for the second time at the International Conference on Central Asia organised by the Indian Council of Cultural Relations in February 1969 in New Delhi, where I presented a

paper “The democratic trends in the Central Asian literature in the 19th and early 20th century” in a session chaired by him. My paper evoked a heated discussion in which Babajan Gafurov lent support to my position. I also recall my participation in another UNESCO-sponsored International Conference on Central Asia held in Ashkabad in 1972 organised and presided by him. Later I got an opportunity to interact with him more closely during my stay in Moscow as a Visiting Professor at his Institute from 1972 to 1974.

It was during the late sixties and early seventies of the preceding century (which incidentally happened to be the period of my close interaction with Gafurov) that this great Soviet scholar was intensely engaged in writing his magnum opus — *Tajiki*. I also learnt first-hand information from the Editor of the book Prof. B.A. Litvinskii about preparations for finalising the draft of this book and its publication.

In fact, the foundations of Gafurov’s work *Tajiki* were laid long-before during the late forties. It is well-known that alongside his party work as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan from 1946 to 1956, Gafurov was actively engaged in his research work in the field of history of the Tajik people. Gafurov had been harbouring a deep desire of writing a general history of his people against the backdrop of their wide historical contacts with other peoples of Central Asia. In 1947 appeared Gafurov’s first work on Tajik history in Tajik language. This book was brought out with M.A. Mirzoev, a well-known literary figure in Tajikistan, as Editor. The book titled *History of Tajik People — A Short Sketch* was published in Russian from Moscow in 1949. It was hailed as a seminal contribution to Tajik history since the publication of famous Russian Orientalist V.V. Bartold’s *Tajiki* in 1925. The book with I.S. Braginskii as Editor, first published in 1952, ran into three editions, the last one in 1955. The book was reviewed by great scholars of the stature of S. Aini and A.Iu. Yakubovskii. In 1952 Gafurov was awarded D.Lit. degree for this work. During the 1963-65 period, Gafurov participated as one of the general editors in bringing out a three-volume *History of Tajik People*. Following

this, during 1966-67, Gafurov was planning to bring out the fourth edition of the *History of Tajik People*. He discussed with Prof. Litvinskii his plan for updating and revising the above named work by incorporating in it the results of the latest archeological and numismatic researches. Litvinskii suggested that instead of publishing a revised and enlarged edition it would be better if a new work was undertaken. Thus was born the idea of writing *de novo* a work on Tajik history which when completed in early seventies, was published from Moscow in Russian under the title – *Tajiki*.

Five years of intense work resulted in the two volumes of *Tajiki* which was an altogether new work retaining only in a skeletal form some texts from the third edition of *History of the Tajik People*. The new work – *Tajiki* – made extensive use of multitude of archeological, numismatic, linguistic, ethnographic and anthropological materials, as also a plethora of written sources in old and middle Iranian languages, Greek, Latin, Chinese, Indian/Sanskrit, Syrian, Armenian, old Turkic, Arab, Tajik-Persian and other languages.

The political history contained in the work was enriched by a perceptive analysis of socio-economic, cultural and ethno-linguistic developments. In the treatment of the subject of cultural development all aspects including the material culture, literature, history of science, philosophy and art and architecture were taken into account.

More than three decades have passed since the work was first published in 1972. Its rigid Marxist-Leninist theoretical framework may not be acceptable to the present-day readers uninitiated into it. Yet it does not detract from the overall academic merit of the work which is based on unassailable historical facts. Conformity of the author to the Marxist-Leninist framework of analysis, as a discernible reader is likely to note, has resulted in a sympathetic understanding of the urges, aspirations and struggles of the oppressed toiling masses of the Tajik and Central Asian peoples.

Broadly speaking, Gafurov's approach of historical materialism has on the whole benefited his work. It has helped

him in identifying the Akemenid state as a slave-owning military-aristocratic system of governance in which the Akemenids and the local satraps jointly exploited the people in the region of Central Asia. The same approach led him to ascribe the emergence of feudal relations to the Sasanid rule which replaced the Parthian power in Iran and Central Asia giving rise to these relations in an area sandwiched between the slave-owning West and the commune-clan society of the East. Gafurov's work rightly focuses upon the Mazdak movement as protest by communard peasants against inequality of property that emerged with the exploitative and oppressive feudal relations. The emphasis on Mukanna uprising of artisans in Merv, Sumbad's rebellion, as also on the later uprisings of popular masses of Uzbeks and Tajiks in Hissar, Bukhara, Samarkand, Balkh and Tashkent against feudal internecine wars in the early 18th century are other examples of consistent pursuit of this approach.

A great merit of Gafurov's work lies in its extensive use of numismatic and archeological material for studying the trade and economic conditions in Central Asia, especially in the Kushan period. For readers who may still be interested in the great academic and ideological debate of its time on the "Asiatic mode of production", the present work will be a valuable source for information and insight.

The rich material contained in Gafurov's work relating to close kinship and unity of the Iranian and Indo-Aryan tribes as evident from marked similarities between Avestian Ancient Iranian language and the Vedic Sanskrit, points out to their origin from one common source in a people, who in all probability, migrated from Central Asia westwards to Iran, and towards the south to Afghanistan and to northern India. This similarity goes beyond language to the realm of religion, mythology, epics and ideas about cosmos.

This closeness and unity of Indo-Iranian tribes is also reflected in their common self-identification as "Aryans" in ancient Iranian and Indian texts. From this name is derived the modern name of the country of Iran, (from ancient Iranian "Aryanam", that is the country of Aryans), "Aryavrat", a

designation in ancient Indian Sanskrit language for the land of Aryans in northern India, and the Avestian "Aryanam-vaichak", meaning the Aryan space. Gafurov is of the opinion that the ancestors of the Vedic Aryans migrated to India from Central Asia during the second half of the 2nd millennium BC and early 1st millennium BC. Regardless of the direction of migration (from or to India) and its exact period, there is little doubt that the ancient Iranian and Indo-Aryan peoples have a common origin. This discussion raised in Gafurov's work is likely to be of great interest for the Indian readers, as also the author's appraisal of the role and character of great historical figures of the later period like Alexander of Macedonia, Timur, Babur and Mahmud Gaznavi. The work also contains new information about the resistance of the Central Asian peoples to Arab, Greek and Mongol invaders, besides a critical estimate of the impact of these foreign invasions on society, culture and economy of Central Asia.

Gafurov's work makes a wide-use of researches by foreign scholars – British, French, German, American, Japanese, Iranian and, of course, Indian. His portrayal of the history of the Tajik people and culture has for its backdrop the history and culture of the other peoples of Central Asia and the neighbouring peoples of Iran, Afghanistan, India and China.

Although Gafurov's work is titled *Tajiki*, the reader need not be surprised over its treatment of events taking place on the territory of the whole of Central Asia and partly that of Afghanistan, Eastern Iran, North West India and the Chinese province of Xinjiang. This is due to the specific character of the ethnogenesis of the Tajik people on the one hand, and the vast size of their historical and ethnic territory, on the other. A desire to show the historical processes of the development of the Tajiks and their culture not in an isolated manner but in close contact with the history and culture of other peoples has metamorphosed the work into a comprehensive history of Central Asia. The history of the Tajik people and culture cannot be explained and understood without scanning the entire Central Asian historical landscape in its totality. However, Gafurov's work which in certain ways gives the impression of a Tajik-centric view of Central Asian history, is

certainly not a parochial, much less chauvinistic, approach to the developments in Central Asia. The internationalist character of Gafurov's work cannot be missed. As the author writes in the preface of his book, "A study of history of the Tajiks, their original contribution to the treasure-house of human culture is inseparably linked with the study of the history of all the peoples of Central Asia revealing what united them."

Dwelling further upon close links between the Tajiks and the Uzbeks, Gafurov observes, "Especially closely related are the Tajiks and Uzbeks—peoples formed on a common ethnic basis. The cultural treasure-house of the Tajik people has been the property of the Uzbeks as also the achievements of the Uzbek culture have been adopted by the Tajiks; character of the material culture, customs, folk art — all this is kindred, at times indistinguishable. The pre-ancient, ancient and in many ways even the medieval history of these peoples has been very close and often identical; it developed on one and the same territory. Nevertheless, two peoples have been formed, now growing into Tajik and Uzbek socialist nations."

The publication of Gafurov's work *Tajiki* in Russian with B.A. Litvinskii as Editor from Moscow in 1972 was a great success. All the ten thousand copies were sold out in no time. The book ran into two editions in Tajik language published from Dushanbe in 1983 and 1985. An edition of Tajik language was also brought out from Kabul in the Arabic script. It was also translated into Polish language from Russian. A new Russian language edition was published from Dushanbe in 1989. This edition was brought out after extensive modifications and additions. The present English version of *Tajiki* is based on the 1989 Russian edition. Gafurov desired to cover in his second volume of *Tajiki*, developments upto the early 20th century, that is the period before the October Revolution. But his untimely death in 1977 prevented him from going beyond the 18th century.

Gafurov was decorated with Order of Lenin six times. He was also elected to the Supreme Soviet of USSR five times and was a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU from 1952 to 1961. He had a wide circle of admirers in India which included

historians, archeologists, literary figures, social activists, media persons and, of course, politicians and diplomats. In 1970 in a special convocation the Aligarh Muslim University honoured him with a D.Litt. degree.

I would like to express my sincerest thanks to Mrs. Anna Leonidovna Dmitrieva and her team of translators for their commendable painstaking English translation of the work. I owe special thanks to Prof. Mahavir Singh, Director Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, for his tireless efforts in overseeing the publication of the present work. I would also like to acknowledge the valuable assistance received from Dr. Nalin Kumar Mohapatra, Project Fellow of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, in my editing work on the present volumes. Thanks are also due to Mr. D. Kumar of Shipra Publication for the nice printing and get-up of the book and its timely publication.

I hope this encyclopedic work on Central Asia by renowned Soviet scholar B.G. Gafurov will evoke the interest it deserves among the wide readership in India and abroad desiring to know more about the history and culture of the Tajiks and other peoples of Central Asia with whom we are bound by age-old civilisational ties.

On behalf of Maulana Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Kolkata I would also like to acknowledge our deep sense of gratitude to the "Irfon" Publishing House, Dushanbe, and Prof. B.A. Litvinskii, editor of B.G. Gafurov's work *Tajiki*, 1989 edition, which has been used for the present English version.

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PART I
Central Asia in the Period of Development
and Consolidation of the Feudal System

Chapter 1

The Peoples of Central Asia in the Arab Caliphate

1. The Fall of The Sasanid State

Arabs on the Eve of Islam

The historical works often emphasize the backwardness of Arabs on the eve of emergence of Islam. However, this assumption is one-sided and mistaken. In 1853 F. Engels wrote: "On the south-west where the Arabs lived a settled life they were obviously the same civilized people as the Egyptians, Assyrians, etc. were; their architectural structures are the proof of it."¹ The archaeological and epigraphical materials² obtained from those times fully confirm the correctness of F. Engels' statement : the southern Arab tribes in the ancient times established a powerful state and a high original culture.

The level of socio-economic development of different parts of Arabia was extremely uneven. If on the territory of Yemen and some other regions in the second half of the 6th — beginning of the 7th century — agriculture and urban life was developing, the vast deserts and steppes were the abode of the nomad bedouins whose main wealth was the camels. Although the tribal organization among the Arabs was still very strong, nevertheless the feudal

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1. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch.*, vol. 28, p. 210.
 2. Pigulevskaya A.G., 1951, p. 260; Lundin A.G., 1961, 1971; Bauer G.M., 1956; Lundin A.G., 1971; Nielsen D., 1927; Bawen R. le Baron and Albright W.F., 1958; Rysk mans J., 1954.

relations were beginning to appear. The process of historical development led to the formation of the single state from the scattered tribes and unions of tribes. In the beginning of the 7th century there emerges a new religious system — Islam.

In order to analyse the historical reasons which caused the emergence of a new religion, Islam, and the swift conquest by the Arabs of the vast territories, it is necessary, first of all to dwell upon the class composition of the society in that period and the changes which were taking place there. The fact that Islam appeared in the period of formation of a class society among the Arabs cannot be doubted. More complex is the problem of defining the character of the new class society prevailing then among the Arabs and on the territories conquered by them, of the mode of production, the study of the process of complex social synthesis which was taking place in that epoch. The solution of these problems is specially significant because they not only throw light on one of the most significant period of the history of peoples of the East, but they also show whose ideological demands the new religion satisfied in the first place. The solution of the latter problem should provide a basis for Marxist analysis of the ideological side of the early Islam.

The scarcity of the sources containing information on social system in the pre-Islamic northern Arabia, where Islam emerged, peculiarities of the medieval historiography giving attention almost exclusively to dynastic "sacred" history and constantly confusing the information about facts with the legends and the different folklore motives, made it difficult to solve the problems indicated above. The bourgeois Islamic studies have collected a large number of facts about the given period, created a lot of idealistic hypotheses about the reasons for the emergence of Islam. However, in methodological approach, in the field of analysis of social roots of Islam, it turned out to be ineffective.

In Soviet historical science there are two main trends in characterising established class society. According to the first of them, in southern Arabia the slave-owning system existed in any case already in the 6th century, and at the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century there already starts the establishment

of the slave-owning structure in the northern Arabia, Hejaj, Mecca and Madina lying on the main caravan route. In the inner Arabia inhabited by the bedouins and cattle-breeding nomads, started the decay of the patriarchal commune system, but it was taking place here considerably slowly. Among the bedouins also there appeared from one side the wealthy people — the owners of big herds, sometimes lands and a large number of slave-prisoners engaged in caravan trade — and from the other side — poor people about whom the pre-Islam Arab poet ash-Shanfar said the following : “The day [poor man] spends at one halt, the night at the other, always alone and in danger”.³ These poor people nevertheless preserved their freedom for the time being.

However, in the northern Arabia the slave-owning structure had not developed into the dominant formation because during the period of crisis caused by the transition to the class society there emerged Islam and Mohammed appeared, who turned out to be an outstanding military leader, the dogmas of Islam about holy war were adopted, the followers of Mohammed started searching for the way out of the social crisis in the campaigns of conquest, and the Arab masses — “warriors of Islam” — gushed out to the territories where the process of feudalisation was going on at a rapid pace, or else feudalism had been already established. But in these countries the slave — owning structure had not yet vanished, therefore it got preserved among the Arabs as well and during the period of conquest as a result of seizure of large number of prisoners received additional development. On the whole and altogether the feudal relations were established in the Caliphate after the big conquests towards the very end of the 7th century, but slavery was preserved for a long time in the form of a structure.

In accordance with the same point of view, Islam initially emerged on the basis of established slave-owning society and only after the conquests developed into the religion of the feudal society. This point of view was worked out in the country by E.A. Belyayev and also by A.V. Yakubovskii, S.P. Tolstov, I.P. Petrushevskii.

3. Filtshinskii I.I., 1965, p. 29.

According to another point of view already before the emergence of Islam in the southern and northern Arabia were being established not slave-owning but early feudal relations which became dominant there, already before 7th century prior to the great conquests. Thus Islam from the very beginning was a religion of the top strata of the feudal society which was being formed. This second point of view was put forward by N.V. Pigulevskaya, A.G. Lundin, N.A. Smirnov and L.I. Nadiradze. The latter pays attention to the prevalence in Arabia of 7th century of the *metayage* system — the pre-requisites for the feudal relations in those historical conditions.

Both points of view on the circumstances in Arabia in the 7th century and on the social nature of the emergence of Islam have so far the significance of a working hypothesis and the final solution of the problem rests with the future.⁴

There is no doubt, however, that the Caliphate society of the 7th century was already, to a significant extent, feudalised while preserving a slave-owning structure. The conquest by the Arabs of Central Asia, east of Khorasan and Maverannahr was carried out by the military-feudal nobility which preserved the elements of nomadic life and thus superimposed the relations inherent in such type of societies on the relations of local settled feudalised society, changing and speeding up by this the process of feudalisation.

The Emergence of Islam

Destruction of Sasanid State

Mohammad, a resident of the biggest centre of Arabia — Mecca — appeared as the “Prophet” of the supreme and sole God — Allah. Not being successful in his native town, he along with his followers, in 622 A.D., moved to Madina; from this year the Muslim era — *Hijra* begins. Having subdued the Medina tribes Mohammad subsequently admitted to his “commune of believers” Mecca also, conquered several other tribes who accepted Allah as well as his earthly messenger — Mohammad. The established name of the new religion “Islam” means “submissiveness” and

4. Petrushevskii I.P., 1966, p. 7.

“subordination”. After the death of Mohammad (632 A.D.) as Caliph (literally “successor” or “deputy”) Abu Bakr (632-634) was announced; after him Omar (634-644) became Caliph during whose rule the subjection of Arab tribes and their conversion to Islam was completed. A highly centralised theocratic state was established and a large and highly efficient army was formed.⁵ The Arab aristocracy dreamt of big conquest, looting and seizure of riches in neighbouring and distant countries. The discontent of the lower strata of Arab society could be directed against non-Muslims and followers of other religions, thus diverting their attention from class struggle against “their” exploiters. The ordinary Arab warriors received a part of the booty which motivated them to fighting, no less than the faith in Allah. For Arab aristocrats the Islamic teaching of holy war, for the faith, served as a convenient cover for the real aims of their conquest campaigns.

The conquerors moved their troops simultaneously against the Byzantine and Iran. The actions of the military chief — Yezdigerd III (632-651 A.D.) — the last representative of the Sasanids — taken to halt the movement of the Arabs proved futile. In the battles of Kadisi and Nekhavend (636 and 642 A.D) the Arab army defeated the united forces of the Persians and put an end to the almost five-century long existence of the Sasanid state. During ten years the Arabs captured the territory of Iran, delivered a crushing blow to Byzantine and seized Palestine, Egypt, Syria and Iraq.

Retreating under the onslaught of the Arabs, from one place to another, Yezdigerd III was wandering during the ten years along different cities and countries trying to stir up the population against Arab conquerors. But he did not succeed in it.

The main masses of population of Sasanid state — peasants and craftsmen — were ruthlessly exploited by Sasanid administration, feudals and Zoroastrian priests, and besides this

5. The literature relating to Mohammad, early Islam and Arab conquest is very large (See : Belyayev A.A., 1965 and Petrushevskii I.P., 1966 where there are references to the sources and literature; Sauvaget I., 1955, pp.115-129 contains useful bibliographical data).

suffered because of caste estates' limitations. Long wars of the Sasanids against Ephtalites, Turks and Byzantines further worsened the already poor conditions of the toilers. All this led to the popular discontent and the masses stopped supporting the Sasanids in their struggle against the Arabs.

The uninterrupted wars weakened the Sasanid state, depriving it of its former political and military power because of the strengthening of the provincial feudal nobility; the former role of the central state sharply declined, the periphery did not submit to the centre. The local rulers, in separate regions and provinces during the invasion of the Arabs, did not render any help to the central state.

The masses of oppressed population in some cases placed their hopes for improvement in their harsh conditions on the Arabs and their faith, which promised equality to all Muslim people. Life soon showed the futility of the hopes of the people but initially it had some effect and was at times mistakenly seen as the revival of the Mazdakit movement.

All this resulted in the failure of the Sasanids to resist the powerful onslaught of the Arabs and the Sasanid state collapsed.⁶

2. The Conquest of Maverannahr (The First Period)

The Political Parcelling up of Maverannahr in the Middle of VII Century

From the beginning of the invasion of Iran the Arabs set as their goal subjugation of the regions of Central Asia beyond Amu Daria — the so-called Maverannahr (meaning in Arabic "on the other side of the river"). In the "History of Bukhara" by Narshahi and in the work of Arab geographer Yakut (XVIII century) is given the narration of Arabs as if the founder of Islam — Mohammad — stated that the subjugation of Maverannahr is the sacred and honourable duty of the followers of his faith.

6. For details about the conditions in Iran on the eve of the Arab conquest and the course of this conquest see : Pigulevskaya N.V. and others, 1958, pp. 69-89; Kolesnikov 1970.

Maverannahr, in this period, was suffering from political split which occurred in the 4th-5th centuries and grew by the end of the rule of the Ephtalites and the Turk Kaganate.

The large number of independent and semi-independent Kingdoms, which existed on the territory of present Tajikistan at the time of Arab invasion, characterised this split.

In Fargana, northern and southern Fargana kingdoms were situated in the region of Ura-Tiube — with Ustrushana as capital in Bundzhiket (near present Shaharistan). The upper parts of the river Zeravshan, along with slopes and valleys of Turkestan and Zeravshan ranges, were included in Buttam. On the north of this region there were the kingdoms of Match and Pargar (present Match and Falgar). To the west there was a kingdom and Panch City (present Penjikent).

In the region of the Hissar valley — Chaganian — were located the entire valley of river Surhan (Chaganrud) and Western end of the Hissar valley with its main city Chaganian (near Denau; Akharun and Shuman — to the east of Chaganian; Vashgird — between Kafirnigan and Vakhsh in its middle current — with the capital Vashgird (Faizabad); Kumed — the upper part of Kafirnigan (river Ramit and Vakhsh).

In the district of Kurgan — Tiube was located — region Vakhsh in the valley of Kabodiyon — in the lower part of river Kafirnigan with the main city of Kabodiyon.

In the district of Kulyab, Khuttalyon was situated — between Pyanj and Vakhsh valley from the side of Khulbuk and the city of Munk (Baljuan). In Khuttalyon different kingdoms in different times were included, for example, Vashgird, Kabodiyon and others.

In the district of Garm were located Kasht with capital Rasht (Garm) Darvaz — with the capital Karran. In the Gorno-Badakhshan region were located Vakhsh, Shugnan and Rushan, closely linked with Badakhshan.

The ruler of every region considered himself completely independent and had a special title. The absence of unity among the rulers of Maverannahr made it difficult for the people of Central Asia to unite to repel the Arabs.

The Arrival of Arab forces on the Frontiers of Central Asia

The first raids on Maverannahr

According to Arab legends Muslim troops chasing after the battle near Nekhavend (642 A.D.) defeated the Sasanid army and came into contact with the Turks of Tokharistan before the death of Caliph Omar, i.e., before 644 A.D.⁷ In fact, the Arab conquests in Central Asia started ten years later. In 651 A.D. the last Sasanid king Yezdigerd III who was chased by Arab troops, came to Merv. Here he was compelled to hide and was killed (according to one version by the windmill owner in whose house he tried to hide himself) on the instigation of his own vassal — the ruler of Merv. The same year Merv was seized by the Arabs.

Three years later the Arabs began their first raids on Maverannahr; in particular the raid of 654 A.D. on Maimurg in Sogd may be mentioned. In 667 A.D. the first raid on Chaganiyan was made and a heavy blow was inflicted on the Ephtalites. The Arabs were preparing a military action on a large scale. One of the military-political preparatory measures was shifting from Basra and Kufa to Khorasan of 50 thousand Arab families. They were put up at five points in the form of garrisons.

One may agree with Gibb who considers that these measures had two goals : to strengthen the security of the regions already conquered and to accumulate strength for further conquests.⁸

Narshahi informs that the Arab conquerors then crossed the Amu Daria many times and conducted raids on Maverannahr. The Bukharan Queen paid them tribute everytime and presented them gifts in order to buy peace and thus save herself from their invasion.

At the end of 673 A.D. in the beginning of 674 A.D., ruler of Khorasan Ubeidullah Ibn Ziyad, after a raid on Maverannahr captured and destroyed Ramitan in the vicinity of Bukhara but on being repulsed by the united troops of the Turks and the Bukharans made peace.

Having received from the Bukharan Queen a ransom and having taken as slaves 2,000 of local people skillful bowmen

7. Gibb N.A., 1923, p. 15.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

(from them he formed a detachment of personal guards) — and Ubeidullah Ibn Ziyad temporarily left Maverannahr.⁹

In 676 A.D., the new ruler of Khorasan Said Ibn Osman crossed the Amu Daria with his big army and reached Bukhara. The Bukharan Queen, as usual, paid a ransom, this time of 3,00,000 dirhams, and gave a group of young Bukharan nobles as hostages. Said moved towards Samarkand. The Sogdians offered a courageous resistance. The fighting continued for more than a month. At last Said was compelled to conclude peace and retreat; taking with him prisoners and a small booty. On his way back he captured Termez.

Narshahi and Balazuri narrate about the courageous deeds of Sogdian hostages who were taken as slaves by Said. "They (hostages — B.G.) told : whether there is any other humiliation which this man (Said — B.G.) would like us to suffer? He took us as slaves and forces us to work hard. If we will perish in this humiliation then it will be good for us. They entered the palace of Said, closed the doors and killed him and then committed suicide."¹⁰ A highly interesting episode, characterising the attitude of the population of the mountainous regions of Maverannahr towards the Arab conquerors, is narrated by Tabari. To the Arab ruler who was camping at Kesh came the nephew of Khuttalyan Malik. He betrayed his people and offered the Arabs to march against Khuttalyan. The ruler gave his consent and sent his son Yazid Ibn al Muhallab.

Tabari writes, "He stopped on the border of Khuttalyan in a separate camp and Malik's nephew — Malik's name was then Sabal — put up a separate camp and Sabal attacked the nephew's camp at night time. His warriors raised a war cry in Arabic language. The nephew of Malik thought that the Arabs had betrayed him and the Arabs, when he left their camp, feared that he would betray them. Then Sabal captured his nephew, brought him to his fortress and killed him...after the execution of Malik's

9. The local tradition about this event is reflected in the works of Balazuri, Yakubi and Narshahi. A slightly different narration is given by Tabari. For analysis of these versions see : Gibb N.A., 1923, pp. 17-18.

10. Jalilov A., pp. 114-115. For analysis of versions of the sources see Gibb N.A., 1923, pp. 18-19.

nephew his mother sent a message to the mother of Sabal saying how she hoped to preserve the life of Sabal after he murdered his nephew! The nephew was survived by seven brothers and all of them felt deeply hurt and she (Sabal's mother) was the mother of a single son". Sabal's mother sent a reply : "Lionesses have only a few pups and pigs have many".¹¹

After the raid of Said, the Arab troops did not attack Maverannahr during the next five years. The third raid on Maverannahr was made by the Arabs during the reign of the Khorasan ruler Salme Ibn Ziyad in the period of the Caliph Yazid Ibn Muavia in 683 A.D. According to Balazuri, the Arab troops reached Khojent but were defeated there.¹² However Samarkandians and the Bukharans were defeated by the Arabs and were forced to pay ransom to the invaders.

In 689 A.D., the son of one rebellious Khorasan ruler Musa Ibn Abdullah captured Termez and for 15 years remained in possession of this strong fortress. He did not acknowledge any one's power and used to raid and loot the neighbouring lands. Only in 704 A.D. the troops of the central Arab state, with the active support of the Sogdian and Turk army, succeeded in crushing this rebellion.¹³ A. Galilov is correct when he writes : "...this victory over Musa had a double meaning. From one side, the fact that the local rulers along with the troops of Arab Caliphate liquidated the power of Musa was positive. But from the other side, by doing this they helped the Arab central power to get rid of a rebel who to some extent served as an obstacle to penetration into Central Asia".¹⁴

All the military campaigns of the Arabs in Maverannahr, before the appointment of Kutsiba Ibn Muslim (705 A.D.) as the ruler of Khorasan, were of an uncoordinated character and served only the purpose of enrichment of one or the other Arab military leader through looting of the captured regions. After crushing and devastating the occupied regions the Arab troops used to return to Merv.

11. Tabari, II pp. 1040-1041.

12. Balazuri, 413.

13. Barto'ld V.V., 1963, p. 242.

14. Galilov A., 1961, p. 118.

The Struggle of the Sogdians, Tokharistan and other Peoples of Central Asia against the Conquerors

The Arab aristocracy decided to implement the seizure of Maverannahr only after the end of internecine war for power inside the Caliphate and the rebellions in the already conquered countries were suppressed during the reign of Caliph Abd-al-Malik Ibn Marwan (685-705 A.D.)¹⁵

Taking advantage of the disunity in the country and infighting among the local aristocrats — *dihkans*, Kuteiba could gradually strengthen the position of the Caliphate in Central Asia. He subdued, in 705 A.D., separate districts of the Balkh region. Except proper Balkh, Chaganian (whose ruler Tish joined the Arabs at this time and instigated them against neighbouring lands), Shumav and others submitted to him. In 706 A.D., he entered Maverannahr with a large army. As Tabari writes, Kuteiba, after crossing Amu Daria, moved towards Paikend. In his army were the *dihkans* of Balkh, Chagankudat, traitors who supported the conquerors for the sake of their vested interests.

Paikend was at that time one of the most flourishing cities of Maverannahr. It was called "the city of traders" and also a "copper armoured city" as it had a strongly fortified citadel. Here the army of Kuteiba met with the stubborn resistance of the people. In the defence of the city took part not only the Paikendis but also other Sogdians to whom the former had turned for help. In the beginning they had an edge and the Arabs found themselves in a difficult situation. The Arab army was for a long time encircled by the Sogdians, the communication lines of Kuteiba were cut. Prayers were held in all the mosques of Iran and Iraq but Kuteiba was saved not by prayers but by the absence of unity among the local rulers. Gradually some of them withdrew their troops. The ranks of the defenders of Paikend receded. Kuteiba took advantage of this : he captured the city, looted it and moved towards Bukhara. The siege of Paikend lasted, according to some sources, for 50 days and according to others 10 months.

15. For a summary of these events see : Belyayev E.A., 1965, p. 180 onwards.

Kuteiba hardly moved away from Paikend around thirty kilometres when the inhabitants of the city rebelled and killed the Arab garrison. Seizing Paikend second time, Kuteiba completely destroyed it, killed all men and took away women and children as slaves. The conquerors got hold of such a big booty as they had never seized anywhere else. Perhaps the most important part of this booty was a large number of weapons and armours — a whole arsenal. The quality of this military hardware was so high that from that period in Arab poetry as an epithet for incomparable skill was used the term “Sogdian”. According to some information, before the capture of Paikend in the army of Kuteiba there were only 350 sets of armours and hence he insisted that the armours should not be a part of the divisible booty and he took them to equip his troops which considerably strengthened the fighting power of the Arab forces.¹⁶

The tragedy of Paikend showed to the residents of Maverannahr as to how cruel and dangerous enemies they had encountered. Individual rulers of Sogd, having called the Turks for help gathered in the vicinity of Ramitan (near Bukhara) and with the united forces challenged the Arab invaders. There a fierce battle took place. The Arab troops were encircled.

Then Kuteiba instigated the king of Sogd against the Turks and vice versa through secret agents and thus drove a wedge in their ranks. By this time reinforcement troops arrived and Kuteiba broke the encirclement with their help. However the heavy losses incurred by the Arabs forced Kuteiba to abandon temporarily the plan of conquering Maverannahr and return to Merv.

In 708 A.D. Kuteiba with new forces moved towards Maverannahr. Notwithstanding the stubborn resistance of the people of Sogd, he succeeded in reaching the lands of Bukhara and captured Ramitan. Having suffered big losses in autumn Kuteiba was again compelled to return to Khorasan. On coming to know about this failure, the ruler of Iraq, Khajaj, to whom Kuteiba owed allegiance as his chief, ordered Kuteiba to crush Bukhar-Khudat at any cost.

16. Gibb H.A.R., 1923, pp. 33-34.

In 709 A.D. Kuteiba, with a large army, again crossed Amu Daria and reached the vicinity of Bukhara. The people of Bukhara, as before, called the help of Sogdians and Turks. A bloody fighting ensued.

Kuteiba announced that any one bringing the head of the enemy would get one hundred *dirhams*. In the headquarters of the Arabs a large pyramid of the heads of the warriors of Maverannahr was raised. But this could not break the resistance of the defenders of Bukhara. They inflicted heavy blows on the Arab troops. Fearing defeat, Kuteiba again resorted to his usual tactics of treachery and deceit. As Narshahi narrates he sent his agent to the king of Sogd, Tarkhun, who told him that the Arabs would leave after sometime and then the Turks would attack him (Tarkhun) because Sogd was so rich and beautiful that they would like to capture it. Scared and deceived by these lies the Sogdian king sought advice as to what he should do. The advice was given to him which was a very treacherous one : to conclude peace with Kuteiba by telling the Turks that a big reinforcement was coming to the Arabs. The Turks would also leave.

Tarkhun followed this advice, anti-Arab coalition collapsed and the Arab troops were able to capture Bukhara.

Kuteiba in order to strengthen his position concluded an agreement with the Sogdian *ikshid* Tarkhun, took as hostages the close retainues of the King and fixed a sum as tribute.

Taking advantage of the favourable situation, during the failures of the Arabs in the Bukharan oasis, the rulers of some Tokharistan land, including the ruler of Shuman, announced the rejection of recognition of the power of Kuteiba.

In 710 A.D., having collected new troops, Kuteiba began a military campaign against Shuman. The residents of Shuman rejected the ultimatum of the Arabs. Bravely and courageously they fought against the superior troops of the enemy. In one of the fiercely fought battles the ruler of Shuman was killed. Kuteiba, after crushing the city, moved towards Nesef (near present-day Karshi) and Kesh (present Shahrsubz) and captured Samark'and.

Defence of Samarkand

As mentioned above, the Samarkand ruler, Sogdian king Tarhun concluded a peace agreement with the Arabs. He undertook to pay tribute. Next year Kuteiba sent his brother Abd-ar-Rahman to Samarkand to receive tribute. Tarhun was compelled to pay it which resulted in discontent among the aristocracy of Samarkand (and undoubtedly among common Sogdians), Tarhun was removed from power by his retainers and he committed suicide in despair.¹⁷

In 710, Gurek became the new Sogdian King. As H.A.R. Gibb, a specialist on events related to the epoch of Arab conquest, writes, he was a "statesman and patriot".¹⁸

The events of this period were unfolding in the following way: In Khwarezm a popular movement began which was headed by the brother of the Shah of Khwarezm, Khurzad. Kuteiba under the pretext of helping the Khwarezm Shah intervened in the affairs of Khwarezm and advanced towards Khwarezm with troops. In 710-712 A.D. Khwarezm concluded a peace treaty with Kuteiba and gifted him 10,000 cattle for bloody suppression of rebels. This implied recognition by the Shah of Khwarezm of the power of the Arabs.

To disorient the Sogdians, Kuteiba spread rumours that he was going to Merv taking with him the looted booty, but instead of it, he moved to Samarkand with the troops of Khwarez Shah and Bukhar Khudat.

The situation shaping at that time was characteristic of not only absence of a single front of struggle against the Arabs, but what is worse, the treachery of the rulers of Bukhara and Khwarezm. The Khwarezm and Bukhara troops actively fought against Samarkand on the side of the Arabs while the Samarkandians had to defend themselves, individually. At the same time, inside Samarkand unanimity was absent. After the death of Tarhun in Sogd there was a strong group of aristocrats who had pro-Arab feelings. One of its representatives was perhaps the Penjikent king, Devashtich. After the suicide of Tarhun he was

17. Tabari II, 1229; Ibn-al-Asir, IV, 437-438.

18. Gibb, H.A.R., 1923, p. 42.

the guardian of his minor sons and took the title of "Sogdian king, Samarkand ruler" (this title is known from Sogdian documents of Mug hill).

E. Iu. Krachkovskii thinks that "perhaps the matter went deeper and in Arab and Arabophil circles there was an assumption to project the sons of Tarhun as the successors of the 'legitimate' dynasty of the Sogdian kings as against Gurek".¹⁹ This assumption can be made in connection with Devashtich also, although it is quite possible that the adoption by him of the title "Sogdian king, Samarkand ruler" took place considerably later, in 719 A.D. Calculatingly and treacherously Kuteiba announced that he came to avenge the death of Tarhun.²⁰ By this announcement he activated the followers of the dethroned Sogdian King and gave him the opportunity to unite with the openly Arabophil elements. A significant role in the camp of Arab followers was played by Devashtich. All this complicated the situation extremely for Gurek and for the defenders of Samarkand, who were led by him.

A detailed analysis of the written sources about the process of conquest of Samarkand has been made by V.V. Barto'ld.

The main source — Tabari — contains three versions and a summary written on the basis of several sources.²¹ During the stubborn fight, in which the Arabs suffered big losses, the defenders of the town displayed wonders of heroism. As King Gurek informed, in one of his letters, "Many of our warriors perished and were wounded, infantry and cavalry of Dashi (Arabs-B.G.) were considerably large in number and we could not resist them, I retreated towards the cover of the fortress walls in order to defend ourselves".²²

The Sogdians sought help from the King of Chach, Turk Kagan and the *Ikshid* of Fargana, writing to them "If the Arabs captured Sogd then their turn will also come". It was decided to help Sogd by sending cavalry forces from the "sons of the King and the most brave from the King's young warriors". The son of

19. V.A. and I. Iu. Krachkovskii, 1934, p. 70.

20. Tabari, II, 1249.

21. Barto'ld V.V., 1964, pp. 382-384.

22. Chavannes E., p. 205.

the Kagan was made the chief.²³ The Turk troops were on the borders of Sogd at that time and could have given help to the anti-Arab struggle. That is why the younger son of the Turk Kagan — Inel — Kagan was made the head of the troops who was the Chief of the Turk troops in the west.²⁴ However, on account of good intelligence work, Kuteiba came to know about the movement of these troops before hand and sent select forces under his brother to meet them. The Arabs laid an ambush, in which the allies of the Sogdians who knew nothing about it were trapped. The contingent which was coming to help Gurek was destroyed in this battle. The Arabs came to know that the troops destroyed in this ambush consisted of noble warriors. After cutting their heads they wrote their names on their ears, fixed these heads on their belts and returned to the camp. An Arab participant of this event narrates : “There was none of us who did not have on his belt the head of an eminent enemy...and we took away excellent weapons, rich clothes, golden belts, wonderful horses, and Kuteiba presented all this to us. And the Sogdians were broken by this, Kuteiba aimed catapults at them and started firing, all the time fighting them. The Bukharans and Khwarezmians, who were on his side and fought with cruelty [against the Sogdians — B.G.], were an example for them”. Then Gurek hurled angry words at them (Arabs) which infuriated Kuteiba and his companions: “You are fighting him with the hands of my brothers and the people of my land but you put against me the Arabs!”²⁵ This and also several other skirmishes in which the balance was tilted on the side of the Arabs (Yakubi writes about several “stubborn battles”), compelled the Sogdians to take cover behind the walls of Samarkand (in the last big battle near Samarkand the victory in the beginning seemed to be on the side of the Sogdians, but then the Arabs succeeded in getting an upper hand).

The siege started. Gurek himself wrote about this as follows: “Then the Arabs besieged the city. They put against the walls 300

23. Tabari, II, pp. 1247-1249.

24. Klyashtornii S.G., 1964, pp. 146-153.

25. Tabari II, pp. 1242-1248.

wall breaking machines, in three places they dug out deep trenches. They wanted to destroy our city and our kingdom".²⁶

The wall-breaking machines pounded day and night the walls of Samarkand. The Arabs could succeed in making a hole, but the Sogdians mended it. Shooting from the arrows, making sorties, the Sogdians inflicted big losses on the besieging Arabs. But at last the city fell. Gurek was forced to sign a treaty which was extremely harsh for Samarkand by which he undertook to pay two million *dirhams*, at once, and hand over three thousand adult slaves, give away treasure of idols from the temples of fire and also pay annually 200 thousand *dirhams*. Besides, according to tentative conditions, the Samarkandians were to construct in their city a mosque for the Muslims and also not to keep Sogdian troops in Samarkand. As a reward for this Kuteiba confirmed Gurek as a ruler "of Samarkand its lands and outside territory of Kesh and Nakhsheb and of the cities and fortresses", Gurek became Kuteiba's vassal. Fearing uprising of Sogdians, Kuteiba left his forces in the city.²⁷

But the freedom-loving spirit of the Samarkandians was not broken. Already in the autumn of 712 A.D. as Yakubi²⁸ informs, "the people of Samarkand rebelled against him (Arab ruler — B.G.) and the King of the Turks, Kagan, attacked him". Only after the arrival of Kuteiba (in the spring of 713 A.D.) with the main Arab forces the Arab garrison was saved from destruction. Interesting information about these events exist also in old Turkic sources. According to them the Sogdian mission headed by Suk²⁹ arrived in the Turk headquarters. In response a large inscription, in honour of Kul-tegin, informs, "in order to comfort the Sogdians"

26. Chavannes E., 1903, p. 205.

27. For details of these events see : Kurat A.N. 1948, pp. 387-430; Smirnova O.I., 1957, pp. 119-134; Smirnova O.I., 1960, pp. 69-79; Klyashtorinii S.G., 1959, pp. 151-152.

28. Yakubi, II, p. 334.

29. "The monument in honour of Tunyukuk", 46-47., Malov. S.E., 1951, p. 69.

Turks went upto “the Iron gate”, (present Baisun-tao)³⁰ As G. Gibb rightly noted, the conquest of Samarkand did not lead automatically to subjugation of Sogd and Sogdians — a considerable part of them did not accept the Arab power and remained free.³¹ Nevertheless, the uprising of the people of Samarkand was crushed with cruelty.

Notwithstanding the fact that even after ten years of incessant bloody wars Maverannahr was subjugated by the super power of the Caliphate. The people of Maverannahr did not consider themselves finally subdued. Every year in autumn, fearing the freedom-loving inhabitant of this country, Kuteiba used to despatch his troops across the Amu Daria and station them in Merv and other cites of Khorasan, and in spring after collecting troops again attacked Maverannahr. But every time he used to go on his military campaigns against Maverannahr with fresh forces because his losses in these campaigns were very heavy.

The Coalition of Sogd, Chach, Fargana and the Turks

In 712-713 A.D. a coalition of the Turk Kaganate and three big states — then not subjugated by the Arabs — Sogd, Chach and Fargana — came out against the Arabs.

The internal struggle among the Sogdian aristocrats, the capitulation of Gurek and his recognition by Arabs, as king of Sogd, led Devastich to join the anti-Arab struggle. He sent to Chach and neighbouring regions his emissary named Fatufarn. In the castle on Mug hill the report sent by this emissary from Chach is preserved. It is a wonderful document buoyantly and directly describing the complex and dramatic situation of that period. Fatufarn, addressing Devashtich as “master”, writes : “And Sir my master, I arrived here to the Chach king and Sir my master I handed over the letters and what had to be said orally I fully told without omitting anything to Tudun (ruler of Chach — B.G.) and to the “assistant”. And O my master, the letter to Kagan and the letter to Fargana King I sent through the Fargana

30. “The monument in honour of Kul-tegin”, large inscription, 39-40- Malov S.E., 1951, p. 41.

31. Gibb, H.A.R., 1923, p. 47.

Tutuk (title — B.G.). And Sir, my master, I cannot go further because O my master, according to rumours, the Kagan is not accessible. And O my master from Tudun and from his assistant I got a letter and replies..., and the whole of the Ustrushan province has been given away. And O my master, I am all alone without any companion and I do not dare to go further. And hence my master I returned again to Chach. And O my master because of this I am greatly afraid of you. And O my master, Tudun has retreated in accordance with truce with Arabs. And O my master, according to the truce Dzhamravaz and the Persian military commander have gone down — it is rumoured — in order to get ransom and to take away troops from the Arabs ... And O my master, Tudun has concluded peace with Tarband, and O my master in this way he got all the lands. And O my master, the rumour goes that the “assistant” is worried by the “truce” and he is also afraid of you because he did not come to meet you.” In the concluding part there is information how this report was sent to Devashtich — through Kand (present Kanibadam) and perhaps further through Isfara — to Match and further along the valley of Zeravshan to the residence of Devastich.³²

The name of Tudun — the ruler of Chach — is known from other written sources. It is Mohedu - tutun (Bagatur-tudun)³³

V.A. Livshits assumes that along with *tundun* whose residence was Tarband there existed a local ruler also — the ruler of Chach, with his residence in Chach — Binket.³⁴ This point of view is not shared by S.G. Klyashtornii who rightly insists on the similarity of “tundun” and the “ruler of Chach”.³⁵ Kagan is a Turk Inel-Kagan.³⁶

The King of Fargana was also a participant in this coalition. To these three participants of coalition, Devashtich himself should also be added.

And although Sogd, particularly its mountainous regions and Samarkand, were not yet fully subjugated, Kuteiba Ibn

32. Livshits V.A., 1962b, pp. 77-91.

33. Bichurin, II, 1950, p. 313.

34. Livshits V.A. 1962b, pp. 82-83.

35. Klyashtornii S.G., 1959, p. 159-161.

36. Klyashtornii S.G., 1960, p. 134; Klyashtornii S.G., 1959, p. 154.

Muslim decided to deliver a blow to more powerful participants of the anti-Arab coalition of Fargana, Chach and Turks. Gathering a large army, he divided it into two columns — one consisting mostly of “allies” the troops formed from the residents of Kesh, Nesef and Khwarezm — was sent by him to Chach, and the other moved towards Khojent and Fargana. The information about the military actions of the northern columns is in fragments. It captured Chach and burnt down most of its settlements. The southern column led by Kuteiba himself, after several battles, captured Khojent and reached Kasan. Here both columns united. From the information of Ibn Khaukal³⁷ and Istakhri³⁸ in which unfortunately there are many anachronisms, it is clear that Kuteiba conducted the military campaign in Ustrushan not only in the valley but also in its foothills as well.³⁹

There is an information about the appointment of an Arab ruler by Kuteiba in Fargana and also about setting up of Arab colonies in Chach and Fargana, but there are reasons to doubt the credibility of this information. Kuteiba won but the resistance of the people of Fargana and Chach could not be broken at all. In this historical context the information which is contained in the report of Fatufarn, who was sent at the peak of military actions in 713 A.D., can be understood.

Next year (714 A.D.) Kuteiba once again attacked Chach. He made it his headquarter and undertook a military campaign towards Isfijab (present Sairam not far away from Chimkent). Kuteiba was interested not only in the importance of this centre for trade, but its strategic role. Having captured Isfijab, Kuteiba hoped to cut through the main routes along which the Turk troops who were moving for the help of their Central Asian allies.

In the beginning of 715 A.D. Kuteiba once again delivered a blow on Fargana. The Fargana King had to flee. At this time Suleiman, the enemy of Kuteiba became the Caliph. Kuteiba started a rebellion which ended in his defeat and death in 715 A.D.

37. Ibn Khaukal, B.G.A., II, 1873, p. 328.

38. Istakhri, B.G.A., I, 1870, p. 383.

39. Negmatov N.N., 1954, p. 120.

Having finished the conquest of Central Asia, the Arabs made Merv the centre of their Vice-regency, which included Khorasan and Maverannahr — far away from the “turbulent” Bukhara and Samarkand.

What helped the success of the Caliphate in conquering Central Asia? The main reason for this success was the political disunity of the country which was skilfully used by the Arabs to their own interest. From the first days of their entry into Maverannahr, they took all measures to ensure that the separate regions of Central Asia did not unite. They succeeded in it. Kuteiba helped it first one by the warring rulers and crushed his enemy and then subjugated the others also. Sometimes it so happened that the individual rulers of Maverannahr fought with each other in the interests of the Caliphate. For capturing Sogd, Kuteiba used, in addition to the Arab troops the military forces of Khwarezm, Bukhara and Nesefer and later he also used the Sogdian troops in military actions on his side.

The other reason for the success of the troops of the Caliphate was that sometimes they were able to divide and instigate the Central Asians exploiting the differences between Turk nomads and the inhabitants of agricultural oases of Central Asia.

And lastly, the Caliphate had a large military superiority. After conquering many countries the Caliphate tried to use the local population and material resources of the conquered territories for undertaking further operations.

The popular masses of Central Asia put up a tough resistance against the Arab conquerors. But many times they were betrayed by their petty rulers as it happened, for example, in Khwarezm and Sogd. Many of the local rulers, trusting the promises of the Arabs, preferred to give in to the conqueror and not to lead the struggle of the masses for independence.

3. The Conquest of Maverannahr by the Arabs (Second Period)

Condition of Peoples of Central Asia

In all the cities and large settlements of Central Asia, the Arabs stationed their garrisons with the support of which they

kept the local population in subjugation and conducted collection of taxes. The domination of the Arab Caliphate in Central Asia was a heavy burden on its people. For example, leaving Samarkand, after its conquest Kuteiba gave the following order to his brother, who headed the Arab garrison: "Do not allow any polytheist to enter any of the gates of the Samarkand before a [mud] seal was put on his hand and if the mud dries up before his leaving the city then kill him, and if you find in his possession an iron knife, kill him. And if after the closure of the gate for the night you find anyone in the city, then kill him".⁴⁰ The new comers looted the conquered country, forced its people to accept the new religion, persecuted the culture and traditions of the people subjugated by them. Not contented with the riches grabbed during their conquest of the cities, the conquerors took from the local population numerous taxes forcing them to provide their new masters slaves, women slaves, cattle and bread, textiles and various other goods and also the supplies everything required by the Arab garrison.

In the conquered regions, the Arab aristocracy occupied the best lands and irrigational structures. It imposed tributes on the cities. Some of the Arab warriors settled on the irrigated land, taken away from the local population.

Taxes were imposed according to the Sasanid model : land tax (*khiraj* upto half of the produce), poll tax (*jazya*) initially taxes levied on persons who did not convert to Islam. Besides these, peasants and craftsmen paid other taxes also. They were forced to work in construction of buildings, bridges and fortress walls, digging of canals, etc. For non-payment of taxes people were subjected to punishment and land was taken away from them in some cities — Merv, Samarkand, Bukhara and others. Arab garrisons and administration occupied half of the houses of local people for their use. Although some times, for example as in Bukhara, such confiscation was made under the pretext of constantly watching how local people follow the directives of Islam. However, it was just one more form of exploiting the local

40. Tabari, II, pp. 1250-1252.

population because the conquerors, having become the owners of the houses, often forced the former owners to toil for them.

Arab Caliphs conducted the policy of inculcating Islam in the conquered regions. In Central Asia they also tried to strengthen their domination through such means. At the beginning of Arab penetration into Central Asia there was not one religion there. Along with the widely spread Zoroastrianism there were the followers of Buddhism, Christianity, Manichenism and Judaism. The Arabs declared all these religions as false; they fought particularly against Zoroastrianism which was the religion of the majority of the population of Central Asia. In order to completely liquidate the influence of other religions, the Caliph's vice-regents destroyed the religious literature of the peoples of Central Asia; especially Zoroastrian. Consequently, not only religious but also secular literature of the people of Maverannahr including the works in Sogdian script almost completely vanished.

The local people accepting Islam were in the beginning given various concessions. Those who followed the instructions of the new religion were paid money. Those who refused to follow Islam were made to pay poll tax — *jazy*a. These measures helped in spreading Islam in Central Asia. However, the majority of people, who converted to Islam for a long time, continued to practise their former religion though secretly.

The Struggle of Sogdians, Farganians and Turks in 720-722 A.D.

In historical literature sometimes there are references to the Chinese participation in the anti-Arab struggle. This is, however, based on a misunderstanding. In fact, as the written sources show, the Tan emperors instigated the Central Asian rulers against the Arabs. They expressed their gratitude to them and bestowed on them high ranks. While instigating the Central Asians against the Arabs by promising them help in the future, they demanded, as a condition for their help, the acceptance of vassalage relation with China. Yet in reality the Chinese state did not even raise a finger to help the peoples of Central Asia.

As L.N. Gumilev⁴¹ noted, the Tan state did not even remove a single regiment from the other borders and did not send any military detachment to help the Farganians and Sogdians. As this scholar writes, "The Emperors hoped that the fear of plunder by Arabs and Tibetans would push the whole population of Central Asia into their arms and they only need to begin organising them".⁴²

Not receiving help from the Chinese, the Sogdians tried to renew their coalition with Fargana and the Turks. In 720 A.D. in Sogd again explodes a powerful struggle for independence.

The preceding events developed as follows : The Caliph Omar Ibn Abd-al Aziz (717-719A.D.) announced the introduction of financial reforms, according to which neither *khiraj* nor *jazya* was to be taken from the newly converted Muslims nor from the Muslim Arabs. He also prohibited Arabs to acquire or capture land in future as it decreased the *khiraj* revenues in the central treasury. But the vice-regent of Khorasan evaded the order of the Caliph on one or the other pretext. The Central Asian aristocracy,

41. Gumilev L.N., 1967 a, p.355.

42. Along with valuable observations about Central Asian-Chinese relations in that period, L.N. Gumilev; expressed an idea which seems to be mistaken. The Central Asian rulers, writes L.N. Gumilev, "desired that troops be sent to them [from China – BG.] and in China they were waiting for the possibility of getting reinforcement from them. As soon as they understood it in Sogdiana, its resistance to the Arabs stooped as hopeless". (L.N. Gumilev 1967a, p.355). Thus L.N. Gumilev puts the continuation of resistance to Arabs by Central Asian peoples as totally dependent on the Chinese help. We may note that this conclusion, so categorically expressed by Gumilev, contradicts the information provided by him further when he speaks of the struggle against Arab invaders which the Sogdians continued in alliance with the Turks by stating that the Sogdian mountainous people "did not want even to hear of Islam and taxes related to it". (L.N. Gumilev, 1967a, p.357). In fact, in the end of 718 or in the beginning of 719 A.D., the Sogdian King Gurek sent a letter to the Chinese emperor. It was stated in this letter that the Sogdians, every year, collect a large army for struggle against the Arabs, but not even once the Emperor had sent military assistance. At the end of the letter Gurek requested to send some Chinese soldiers (Chavannes E., 1903, p.205). As it is known the Chinese again did not help. But contrary to L.N. Gumilev the Sogdians did not stop the resistance to Arabs at all.

many representatives of which declared themselves as Muslims, did not wish to pay the tax, keeping this amount to themselves. Between the aristocracy and the local representative of the Caliphate administration arose a conflict. On the side of the Central Asian aristocracy were the people who experienced the terror and unlimited exploitation by the Arabs. Rumours were spreading fast that in 100 A.D. of *Hijra*, i.e., in 718-719 A.D., the power of the Arabs would end.⁴³

The military campaign of Gurek against the Arabs, possibly led to Devashtich, declaring himself the ruler of Samarkand, the king of Sogd, at the instigation of the Arabs.

Against the Arabs came out the groups of Sogdian aristocracy which were earlier quarrelling with each other and having different orientations. The Turks were called for help.

The Sogdians rose in rebellion in the beginning of 720 A.D. The help from Turks came — the Kagan sent an army headed by Kursul. The allies inflicted on Arabs a heavy defeat. In Sogd there were hardly any region or ruler who did not rise against the Arab invaders. Only in separate districts Arab garrisons remained but they also had to pay ransom to the rebels and hand over the hostages. The roles changed. Caught in a mouse-trap like situation the invaders trembled before the sea of people's anger. The efforts of the ruler of Khorasan to suppress the uprising were in vain. Sai'd-al-Kharashi was appointed ruler of Khorasan. He became 'famous' by his ruthless suppression of people's uprising in Iraq. The new ruler started negotiations with the rebels. And, instantly, a part of the aristocracy betrayed the cause of uprising. Among these betrayers was the King of Sogd — Gurek who not only switched over to the side of the Arabs but also committed himself to go along with them against his own people.⁴⁴ However, a considerable part of the rebels decided not to give up to the Arabs and to go to the regions which were then beyond the Arab power.

One such region was Fargana. Its king, Alutar, promised Sogdians asylum and patronage. Taking advantage of this, a large

43. Bartol'd V.V., 1964, pp.382, 384-387.

44. Perhaps he adopted this course fearing that the Arabs would confirm Devashtich on the Sogdian throne.

group of Sogdians, from different parts of Sogd, decided to go to Fargana. This group was led by Karzanch — a man of great courage. He did not like the idea of taking shelter in Fargana and suggested his own plan — either to attack the vanguard of the Arab army and destroy it or to go beyond Syr Daria to the Turks. However, Sogdian traders and *dihkans* did not agree to this and insisted on going to Fargana.

When the rebel groups started moving towards Fargana, Alutar treacherously began negotiations with the Arabs promising them to hand over the rebels. He informed the Sogdians that his commitment towards them would come into force during 20 or 40 days after they had taken shelter in one of the gorges of Isfara. While these negotiations were going on, the Arab troops approached Khojent, where Sogdians were camping temporarily; the Arab protege Alutar, of course, refused to help the people deceived by him.

The seizure of Khojent (spring or summer of 722 A.D.) was not easy for the Arabs. The Sogdians fought to death. They dug out a moat near the city gate, camouflaged it and then pretending to flee they trapped the Arabs and took dozens of them as prisoners. But when the Arab reinforcement arrived with wall-breaking equipment, the situation of the besieged became critical. They accepted the conditions of Arabs to return to Sogd, to pay *khiraj* and to free the Arab prisoners. The Sogdians were disarmed.

Accusing one of them for crime, the Arabs started killing all of them. But even in the last moments of their life the Sogdian warriors behaved like heroes: Tabari writes in astonishment that disarmed Sogdians put up resistance and fought with sticks.⁴⁵ All of them were killed and only 400 traders survived, who paid off a large ransom. The ordinary people of Khojent also suffered: the Arab commander ordered the peasants of Khojent to wear lead seals on their necks and those who did not obey this order were killed.

The other group of rebels was led by Devashtich. The group led by him moved from Penjikent up along the Zeravshan river. A.

45. Tabari, II, 1445.

Iu. Yakubovskii thinks that Devashtich intended to take his people through the Shahrstan pass to Khojent and then to Fargana.⁴⁶ But this plan was destined not to be implemented. In the vicinity of village Kum there was a castle, Abgar (or Abargar), which is identified (although it is disputable) with the castle on Mug hill.⁴⁷ The Arab army included the troops of some Central Asian rulers. The effort of Devashtich to stop the advance of the enemy in an open battle did not succeed. After some time the besieged, felt the shortage of food supplies. Devashtich was compelled to start negotiations. To one hundred families of the besieged including Devashtich himself, life was guaranteed. But here also the conquerors showed their usual treachery: Devashtich was brutally killed. He was crucified and his severed head was sent to the ruler of Iraq.⁴⁸

This anti-Arab movement was suppressed with unprecedented cruelty. Many local rulers and *dihkans* were killed, their lands were seized by Arab military commanders and the exploitation of peasants was intensified.

Some rulers of Central Asian territory, even after the defeat of the anti-Arab movement of 720-722 A.D., did not lay down their arms. Among them were even those who had earlier bowed their heads before the conquerors. In particular, in 723 A.D. the Fargana king Alutar moved his troops against the Arabs. Alongwith the Turks and the Chachans, the army of Fargana defeated the conquerors, chasing them all the way from Khojent to Samarkand. Then an uprising again took place in Sogd. Struggle faded out for sometime only to flare up again. Military actions proceeded with alternate success.⁴⁹

Khuttalyan in Struggle with Conquerors

Courageous and freedom-loving people of Khuttalyan offered serious resistance to the Arabs. At that time Khuttalyan covered the territory of the Kulyab group of districts and the Vakhsh

46. Yakubovskii, A. Iu., 1950, p.39.

47. Volin S., 1940.

48. Tabari, II, 1447-1448; Ibn-al Asir, V, 82.

49. For details see: Kadirova T., 1965, pp.80-85.

valley. Politically, other districts of southern Tajikistan were under it. The King of Khuttalyan had at his disposal 50 thousand troops.⁵⁰

The Arabs decided to launch serious military action against Khuttalyan in 725 A.D. only. The Arab vice-regent Asad Ibn Abdallah after restoring Balakh, undertook a military campaign against Khuttalyan. Arabs were met by the united forces of the King of Khuttalyan and the Kagan of the Turks. The Arab troops started fleeing. Tabari informs that when Asad Ibn Abdallah after shameful failure of his military campaign against Khuttalyan returned to Balakh, the residents of Balakh composed a funny song about him — the first preserved work in Tajik language : “you came from Khuttalyan dishonoured, defeated, exhausted and confused”.⁵¹

The defeat was so crushing that for more than ten years the Arabs did not dare to seize Khuttalyan. Only in 737 A.D. Asad Ibn Abdallah invaded Khuttalyan. In the beginning he had an upper hand, but the Kagan of the Turks came to know about his incursion. With a large army the Kagan advanced to help Khuttalyanians. Asad Ibn Abdallah retreated. He crossed the river Panj, in the region of Salt Mountain (at present called Khoja Mumin). In this process, the Arabs lost all their supplies. The Turk troops and the Khuttalyanians chased the Arabs along the left bank of the river as well. The anti-Arab coalition had opportunity to completely destroy the Arab forces, demoralised by chaotic retreat and to capture Balakh. But instead of delivering a concentrated and immediate blow on the Arab army the allies waited for long and were engaged in less important points, dispersing their troops all over the country and when the fighting took place near Kharistan between the troops of the allies and Asad the Arabs not only succeeded in evading defeat but also in destroying the Kagan and the Khuttalyanians. Badr-Tarkhan⁵² was the ruler of Khuttalyan at that time. On being encircled, Badr-Tarkhan and his troops fought against the Arabs. But at last the

50. Chavannes E., 1903, pp.200-201.

51. Tabari, II, pp. 492, 494, 1602-1603.

52. About him see : Smirnova O.I., 1969, pp.217-220.

Khuttalyanians were forced to start negotiations. Badr-Tarkhan was promised safety of life but it was a deceit : as in the case of Devashtich, the promise was broken and Badr-Tarkhan was brutally killed. Only after this the Arabs seized Khuttalyan.

One of the descendants of the ruler of Khuttalyan was compelled to move to Fargana. Followed by the Arabs he fled from there to Ustrushana. He and his companions took with them a lot of idols and installed them in Ustrushana.⁵³

At the helm of affairs in Ustrashana stood Afshin. Supported by the small landowners (*dahkans*) and the sympathy and active struggle of freedom-loving agriculturist communards, the Ustrushan Afshin did not allow Arab invaders to enter their land till the end of the 8th century.⁵⁴

In 728 and 736-737 A.D. the population of Tokharistan and Sogd rose against the Arabs, supported by the forces of the Turk Kagan. The condition of the Arabs was very critical, especially in 737 A.D.

The details of these uprisings are as follows : During the reign of Caliph Khisham (724-743 A.D.) the majority of the population of Sogd accepted Islam only outwardly and did not pay the toll tax (*jazya*). The treasury of the Caliphate, at that time, grew scanty and in order to replenish it the Caliph ordered that all people accepting Islam should pay additional tax. Indignant population made an appeal to the centre of the Caliphate in which it was said that introduction of additional tax was illegal because it contradicts the promise of exemption of the faithful from payment of *jazya*. As was expected the demand to abolish the tax was rejected. Then the Sogdians disowned Islam and again returned to their ancient faith. They called for the help of the Turks and rose against the authority of the Caliph. The uprising became widespread and the whole territory of Maverannahr, except Samarkand and Dabusiya, came under the rebels. The complexity of the situation in Khorasan and Maverannahr compelled the Caliph to change some vice-regents in a very short time. In 738

53. Tabari, II, 1694. For a detailed account of the struggle of Khuttalyan against the Arabs see : Beleniskii A.M., 1950a, pp.113-120.

54. Negmatov N.N., 1954.

A.D. Nasr Ibn Saiar became the vice-regent of Khorasan and Maverannahr. For a long time he was dealing with state affairs in Khorasan. In 738-739 A.D. a new vice-regent undertook three military campaigns to Maverannahr (in Samarkand, Chach and Farab) for suppression of the uprisings of the local population. Nasr Ibn Saiar tried to establish close relations with local aristocracy in order to keep the country in control, with its help. He entered into a matrimonial alliance with the aristocracy of Maverannahr by marrying the daughter of Bukhar-Khudat.

Notwithstanding all this, the struggle of the people against the invaders continued. Central Asia was considered one of the most undependable outskirts of the Caliphate.

4. Consequences of the Incorporation of Central Asia in the Arab Caliphate

While evaluating the historical significance of the Arab conquest one should not run to extremes which can be found often in a disguised form in some research works.

Analysing such a complex phenomenon, as the Arab conquest of Central Asia, it is necessary first of all to go by the class positions, taking into account extraordinary variegated class and tribal composition of the feudal society.⁵⁵

There is no doubt that the Sasanid administration and local secular and religious aristocracy heavily exploited the peasants and artisans in Iran and Central Asia, that is why the masses initially refused to support the government in its struggle against the Arabs. The slogan of Arab rulers about equality and freedom were sometimes mistakenly understood by people as the resurrection of the traditions of the Mazdakit movement. All this helped the victorious advance of the Arabs along the territory of Iran and Khorasan in the first period of conquest.

At the same time the Arab conquest of Central Asia was first of all an annexationist war in the interests of the Arab ruling clique which brought destruction and violence, the loss of land

55. Gafurov B.G., 1963a.

and homes and the perspective of double oppression to the conquered people.

The local rulers, having become free from Sasanid Iran, particularly in the second half of the 7th century, fell under the power of more brutal Arab administration. The conquerors conducted a policy of plunder and oppression. As a result of this, especially in the subsequent stage of conquest in many places the people of Central Asia came out against the conquerors and staunchly offered armed resistance.

It is also necessary to take into account that the situation was changing in relation to place and time. The initial efforts to "pacify" the Arabs by presenting them tributes and ransom gave way to armed resistance. The Arab onslaught grew, the politics of the feudalised top clique of the Caliphate changed, which became more and more brutal in relation to the conquered people, as this vast state grew more strong. And then, the relatively peacefully annexed districts, rose to put up strong resistance to them often anticipating the help from the eastern allies, especially the Turks. Such was the historical situation in Central Asia of 7th-8th centuries in general.

The ethnogenesis, linguistic and cultural processes on the territories incorporated into the Caliphate were very complex and contradictory. In the Near East and North Africa the large ethnic territories were being "*Arabised*". But in those regions also, where the population preserved the native language, Islamisation took place and Arab language spread which was considered sacred : only those who knew it could read Koran and religious literature. Like the Latin language in medieval Western Europe, the Arab language, on the territory of the Caliphate, became an almost universal scientific language (only later the scientific literature in the local languages developed again). The culture of the peoples of the Caliphate or as it was sometimes incorrectly called Muslim culture (and completely incorrect as Arab culture), — is the result of the synthesis of creative achievements of many peoples including Central Asians. The existence of a single religious world outlook (Islam) and common (at least in the initial stages) language, close and continuous interaction shaped many specific features of this culture. However, let us stress again : each of the

peoples incorporated into the Caliphate had a considerable cultural specificity, originality defined by its own cultural traditions and socio-economic factors which especially from the end of the 9th-10th century led to the gradual cultural disintegration.

The culture of the peoples of the Caliphate, of the 9th-12th centuries, was incomparably higher than the synchronous European culture. The greatest historical achievement of the peoples incorporated into the Caliphate was retransmission for the whole mankind of the many antique traditions, especially in the realm of natural sciences and philosophy, which were creatively processed by the scientists and scholars of the Caliphate. Their activities and works helped, in acquainting the Europeans with the achievements of the peoples of the East. The works of such Central Asian scholars as Farabi, Biruni, Ibn Sina and many others made a great contribution to the science and culture of not only the Caliphate but of the whole mankind. Medical works and mathematical treatises, astronomical tables and Arabic translations, from different languages, penetrated the West and remained for centuries the most dependable manual. In the development of Western European literature the role of the East is quite significant; there is an assumption that the rhyme came to Roman poetry from the Arabic.⁵⁶

Thus from the point of view of the historical perspective the incorporation of Central Asia into the Caliphate helped in the long run in increasing the pace of development of feudalism, consolidation of the Central Asian ethnic groups, weakening of the disunity and in the establishment of a centralised state on the basis of which the local Central Asian and Iranian states were formed. Besides, at first having caused a considerable damage to local economy and culture it helped in wide development of contacts between different peoples on the basis of which the magnificent cultural synthesis in Central Asia and Near East of 9th-11th centuries took place.

56. Masse A., 1962; Mets A., 1966; Filshinskii I.I., Shidfar B. Ya., 1971.

5. Role of Central Asian Peoples in the Struggle between the Omeiyads and the Abbasids

Opposition Groups in the Caliphate

The animosity towards the power of the Caliphate was strong in Central Asia and other countries, subjugated to the Caliphate. Not only the toiling masses but also the local landed aristocracy was dissatisfied with the regime, established by the administration of the Caliphate. Local aristocrats were, to a considerable extent, deprived of political rights and the taxes from peasants for the Caliph and Arab aristocracy affected their incomes.

Discontent arising from the policy of the Caliph, from the clan of the Omeiyad, seized not only the subjugated peoples but also the Arab population of the Caliphate. It was connected with the process of class stratification among the Arab tribes, collapse of the clan connections, and the growth of inequality in property, which was going on at that time.

The legality of the Omeiyads, being in power, was disputed by two main groups.

The first groups — Kharijits — consisted of the representatives of those starata which were dissatisfied by the dominance of the Arab aristocracy. It opposed the principle of inheritance in the Caliphate and put forward the following formula: "There is no Caliph in way other than the wish of Allah and the people". The Kharijits thought that the Caliph selected by the commune can also be removed by it if he rules badly; that inside the Muslim commune there should be full equality. Subsequently it attracted to Kharijits the sympathy of wide circles of converts to Islam of non-Arab origin particularly peasants. In the 7th-9th centuries the Kharijits took support of popular masses, expressed radical socio-political views.

The second group — party of Ali (Shias)⁵⁷ — initially expressed the interests of top clique of some old Mecca-Madina clans, recognising the principle of inheritance in the Caliphate but considering as the legal heirs of the Prophets the descendants of Ali — cousin and son-in-law of Mohammad (the husband of his

57. "Shi'ite Ali" — the "Party of Ali".

daughter Fatima). Ali and his younger son Hussain who were killed in the internecine struggle were imparted the aura of the holy sufferer and became the banner of the struggle against the Omeiyads. Subsequently Shi'ism with its cult of Ali served as a banner of majority of opposition and sectarian currents in Islam. In particular Shi'ism from the very beginning of its appearance was sympathised by the top clique of people subjugated by the Caliphate who saw in him the means of weakening of the alien yoke.⁵⁸

Besides, starting approximately from 718 A.D. the descendants of Abbas — the uncle of Mohammad from the father's side — were carrying out a secret propaganda against the domination of Omeiyads. The Abbasids stated that the right to Caliphate belongs to the clan of Hashim, that is, the clan to which Mohammad belonged. But they usually did not announce concretely who from this clan should be the Caliph. Hence, they could unite with the Shi'ites who thought that the Abbasids were acting in their interest.

The common dissatisfaction by the policy of the Omeiyads particularly became strong in the forties of the 7th century during the rule of Marvan II (744-750 A.D.). It was caused by increase in the land tax (*khiraj*), and also by the wide use of forced labour of the local population during the large construction works started by this Caliph.

Caliph Marvan undertook several measures for providing security for the power of the Omeiyads : particularly shifted all the members of the Omeiyad family from Damascus to the city of Harran (new capital of the Caliphate), ordered to destroy all the fortresses except Antiohiya which served as the centre of defence from the Byzantine and to destroy all the city walls. But nothing could stop the protest which already started developing. The common dissatisfaction with the Omeiyads went too far and for the first time in the history of the Caliphate the court guards of the Caliph revolted.

One of the influential Abbasids Imam Ibrahim Ibn Mohammad took over the leadership of the anti-Omeiyad

58. Petrushevskii I.P., 1966, pp. 38-57.

propaganda and sent a lot of emissaries — preachers to all the countries of the Caliphate. In particular, attention was given to the eastern provinces.

The Abbasids announced that all the sufferings undergone by Muslims, during the century from the day of the birth of Islam, had occurred because of the Omeiyad Caliphate. In case the Omeiyads were overthrown, the Abbasids promised to people to decrease the *khiraj* and other taxes, to stop construction works in which the peasantry was forced to work, to give the local population political rights and allow it to participate in the state of affairs of the Caliphate.

Of course, the Abbasids and their emissaries were worried very little about the real interests of the popular masses, as were the Omeiyad Caliphs. These promises were given to attract the masses to their side in a dynastic struggle against the Omeiyads.

In Maverannahr and Khorasan, the Abbasids in their struggle against the Omeiyads, took the support of the local landed aristocracy which hoped to gain an access to the governance of the country in case of success of the Abbasid coup d'état. The emissaries of the Abbasids appeared in Khorasan during the period of Caliph Khishan's rule (724-743 A.D.). The sources contain an information that during the period of vice-regency of Asad Ibn Abdallah (735-738 A.D.) in Khorasan the legs and hands of some of the emissaries of the Abbasids were cut off. The other vice-regent of Khorasan — Nasr Ibn Saiyar (738-748 A.D.)⁵⁹ also stubbornly persecuted the Shi'ites and the followers of the Abbasids.

In the second half of the forties of the 8th century, Abu Muslim, the initiator of the Abbasid coup d'état, who gained a wide popularity, subsequently, took over the leadership of the struggle against the Omeiyads.

The Movement of Abu Muslim

Abu Muslim originated from peasants and according to some information was a slave in his adolescence. Near the largest city of Khorasan — Merv — Abu Muslim started secretly recruiting of

59. Bartold, V.V., 1963b, pp. 246-250.

Shiite and other discontented elements, acting as “confidential agent of the family of the prophet”. This title was given to him by the Abbasids, in whose interests he was conducting this propaganda. When the base was ready on 9 July 747 A.D. Abu Muslim appealed to the people to start an open struggle by hoisting the black banner — this colour had been selected by the Abbasids.

The appeal of Abu Muslim had a big success among Arabs as well as among the people subjugated to the Caliphate.

The Arabic-speaking author Dinaveri very colourfully narrates how the army of Abu Muslim grew : “The people from Herat, Busheng, Merverrud, Talikan, Merv, Nisa, Abiverd, Tus, Nisapur, Serakhs, Balkh, Chaganian, Tokharistan, Khuttalyan, Kesh, Nesef were hurrying to Abu Muslim. All the people dyed their dresses in black. They also painted half portion of their wooden clubs with black. These people came on horses, donkeys or on foot driving on their donkeys and shouting “Harro Marvan!”, calling the donkeys Marvan — making mockery of the Caliph Marvan Ibn Mohammad. They were 100 thousand in number”.⁶⁰

Under the black banners Yemen Arabs also marched. Their uprising was suppressed not long before this. The troops of Abu Muslim were also joined by slaves with the hopes for improvement of their conditions.

The vice-regent of Khorasan, Nasr Ibn Saiyar, on whom lay the burden of fighting Abu Muslim tried in vain to unite the Arabs against him. The aristocracy of separate tribes was constantly fighting for power which now got intensified. Inside the Arab tribes a process of class stratification was going on. The class stratification among many Arabs, particularly those who belonged to the less well-to-do strata, was proceeding under the banner of Abu Muslim.

In the beginning of 748 A.D. Nasr Ibn Saiyar was compelled to give up to the rebels, Merv, the capital of Khorasan, and retreat towards Nisapur where one of the military commanders of Abu Muslim, who was entrusted the task of chasing Nasr, inflicted

60. Dinaveri, 1888, pp.359-360.

heavy defeat on him. It can be said that this battle decided the fate of the Omeiyads. Notwithstanding the fact that Caliph Marvan II had mobilised all the forces that were at his disposal and crushed the rebels and publicly executed Imam Ibrahim Abbasid, all this did not save the Omeiyads. The rebels delivered several deadly blows to their troops in Iraq and occupied Damascus, the largest centre of the Omeiyads.

Thus the troops mobilised by Abu Muslim in the eastern provinces of the Caliphate, mostly from among the population of Central Asia and from Arabs discontented with the policy of the Omeiyads, crushed the military forces of the last representative of the Omeiyad dynasty in 750 A.D. Thus the Abbasids came to power.

But as was expected, after coming to power they did nothing for the masses which were the main participants of the uprising. The promises given by them to the people remained unfulfilled. Abu Muslim who was appointed vice-regent of Khorasan also did not keep his promise.

Being convinced that Abu Muslim and the Abbasids were not going to keep their promises, the Sogdians rose in rebellion in Bukhara which was headed by Shariq Ibn Sheikh under the Shitte slogans. Abu Muslim sent a ten thousand-strong detachment against the rebels. However, the uprising acquired such a big scale that it could be suppressed only with the help of Bukhar-Khudat Kuteiba, Ibn Takhshad who sent against the toiling population of Bukhara a force equal in number to the troops sent by Abu Muslim.

Abu Muslim played a significant role in the struggle against the Chinese Emperor who, taking advantage of the internal fighting in the Caliphate, decided to establish his dominance in Central Asia, but failed in 751 A.D. during a fierce battle on the bank of river Talas near the present city of Jambul. The Arab army under the leadership of one of the military commander of Abu Muslim succeeded in destroying the troops of the Chinese Emperor.

Notwithstanding the fact that Abu Muslim fought against the external enemies as well as with the anti-Abbasid movement inside the country and was an ardent supporter of the Abbasids,

the latter did not trust him fully, suspecting him to be having a claim on the throne of the Caliph. In 755 A.D. Caliph Abu Jafar-al Mansur (754-775 A.D.) invited Abu Muslim to his palace and treacherously killed him.⁶¹

The Uprising of Sumbad Mag and the Movement of Mukanna

Under the Abbasid Caliphate the condition of popular masses was even more hard than under the Omeiyads. Rent had a predominantly natural form. From the unirrigated lands half of the crop was taken as rent, from the irrigated lands — from one-fourth to one-third of the crop. Sometimes taking advantage of the lack of convergence between the Muslim lunar calendar and the agricultural solar calendar, taxes were charged twice a year. To this were added the false measurement and extortions during collection of taxes.

Because of intensification of the process of development of feudal relations, the land which was nominally considered the property of the Caliph but in fact was in the possession of the local landed aristocracy was divided in small plots and distributed on the basis of crop-sharing lease among the small cultivators. The former free communards lost their independence and became crop-sharers *kadivers*, that is, the freed slaves or the slaves settled on land. The Abbasid Caliphs adopted the Sasanid traditions and also their palace luxuries. The local aristocrats also did not like to lag behind.

Many buildings — palaces, fortresses, etc. were erected. All the burdens related to these constructions were borne by the peasantry. The city artisans also were in good conditions. They were subjected to semi-feudal exploitation and were completely ruined by heavy taxes, arbitrariness of the officials; natural rent's heavy burden lay on the nomadic Turks.

All this resulted in increased popular indignation. One of the biggest uprisings was the one led by Sumbad Mag. Sumbad was considered a close follower of Abu Muslim. He rose in revolt in 755 A.D. under the slogan "we should avenge the blood of Abu

61. Bart'old V.V., 1963b, pp.252-255; Yakubovskii A. lu., 1954a, pp.19-26; Moscati S., 1945-1950; Spuler W., 1952, S. 34-50.

Muslim". He could attract to his side a large number of supporters from different strata of population. He was joined by the groups of Zoroastrians as well as by the followers of Mazdakism — Khurramits.⁶² "Surkhalem"⁶³ people were also called Khurramits. The uprising covered a wide territory, including Khorasan and Tabaristan. The Abbasids could suppress this uprising with great difficulty. Sumbad suffered defeat. He was executed in Rei and his wife and children were made slaves. After the defeat of Sumbad the secret activities of his followers — sect of Muslimya — preaching that Abu Muslim would return "to rule the world with justice", continued.

The Arab troops had hardly suppressed the uprising of Sumbad when a new rebellion broke out in the vicinity of Heart, which was led by one Ustad Sis. In this uprising thousands of people took part.

The everrising anger of the toiling people led to a broad popular movement against the Abbasids, during the reign of Caliph al-Mahdi (775-785 A.D.) which covered the whole of Maverannahr in the seventies of the 8th century.

The leader of the uprising was Mukanna⁶⁴ an artisan from the Merv district. Some historical sources⁶⁵ inform that he was one of the military commanders of Abu Muslim and had participated in the movement against the Omeiyad Caliphs. He was a highly educated person. There is reason to believe that the ideas of Mazdakism highly influenced him. Coming to know about the preaching of Mukanna, the vice-regent captured him as an important state offender and sent him for trial to Bagdad, the centre of the Caliphate. But Mukanna fled from the Baghdad dungeon and reached Merv. He collected his followers and in 776 A.D. sent them to all the districts of Central Asia with an appeal to rise for struggle

62. This name is derived from the name of Mazdak's wife Khurrama, who as the legend goes survived the rout of the Mazdakits and continued to preach the ideas of Mazdakism.

63. Surkhalem — Arab-Persian term literally means "red-banner carrier".

64. Mukanna in Arabic means "covered by the veil". This sobriquet was given to him because he was said to wear green veil. His real name was Hashim Ibn Hakim.

65. For details see : Aini S., 1944; 1966; Yakubovskii, 1948.

against alien rule. This appeal had a particular success in Neseif and Kesh — the cities populated predominantly by Sogdians.

The officials of the Caliph were hunting Mukanna. They placed, on the bank of Amu Daria, a strong cavalry force which was patrolling day and night in order not to let Mukanna enter Sogd from Merv where (in Sogd) the number of his followers grew day by day. The local rulers knew very well that if Mukanna reached Maverannahr their position would become critical. However, Mukanna succeeded in crossing the Amu Daria to hide in Sogd with dozens of his followers.

At this time, as Narshahi informs "in Sogd, the majority of settlements converted themselves to the faith of Mukanna and from the settlements of Bukhara many people became unfaithful and openly demonstrated their unbelief, and this sedition became a calamity for the Muslims."

Speaking about the movement of Mukanna, Narshahi openly declared his animosity towards the leader of the rebels. Such an attitude towards Mukanna is characteristic of all feudal historians.

The main reason for recognition by the masses of the teaching of Mukanna was its demand for abolition of inequality of property and its opposition to Arab domination. The movement of Mukanna soon grew into an open rebellion, engulfing, for a short time, the whole of Maverannahr.

The headquarter of the rebels was located in the settlement of Narshah near Bukhara. The ruler of Bukhara, Hussain Ibn Muaz, after collecting his military forces consisting mainly of Arabs, combined them with the troops of Bukharan aristocracy and advanced against the rebels. In 776 A.D. near the walls of Narshah a fierce battle between the Arab troops and the rebels took place. Mukanna was defeated. He lost 700 of his warriors. But this victory did not radically change the situation. Soon the rebels again captured the outskirts of Bukhara.

Seeing the uprising grow, the Caliph al-Mahdi hurriedly left Baghdad for Nisapur to take measures for strengthening the struggle against the movement of Mukanna and ordered the Khorasan Amir to immediately send reinforcement for the Bukharan ruler.

Jabrail Ibn Yahya, who was sent from Khorasan with additional Arab troops, was stuck up for long with the unsuccessful siege of Narshah. The rebels by their incessant attacks exhausted the troops of Jabrail to the extent that he could not continue military action without reinforcement. At that time from Balkh a seven thousand-strong army of the Caliph arrived but the military commander seeing the success of the rebels did not even try to launch an attack on them. At last the reserves of Amir of Khorasan arrived which would have doubled the strength of the Arab troops sent by the Caliph to Maverannahr. But this also did not help. The Arab troops were defeated by the rebels, already on their way to Maverannahr. Jabrail Ibn Yahya found himself in a critical situation. Communication between Balkh and was cut off. Jabrail brought to Narshah, where the main forces of rebels were concentrated, all troops and military hardware at his disposal. For four months the Arab troops besieged Narshah without any success. Exhausted by continuous skirmishes both sides started peace negotiations.

During negotiations the Arab military commanders treacherously killed one of the leaders of the rebels hoping thus to make the movement leaderless. But this murder only increased the resistance of the rebels manifold.

The sources contain an information that at last the rebels were crushed in Narshah, but the uprising by that time had spread to new districts of Central Asia. The second phase of the struggle began.

If in the first stage the movement of Mukanna was supported by a part of Sogdian aristocracy, in the second stage these aristocrats, who were scared away by the scale of the movement fully switched over to the side of the Caliphate and the wide strata of Sogdian peasantry, continued to join the movement in larger numbers.

"The people clad in white dress" (the followers of Mukanna) were becoming the masters of Maverannahr and "the garden of the Lord of the true believers" as Maverannahr and Khorasan were called, started becoming independent from the Arab Caliphate.

The Caliph al-Mahdi changed the vice-regent of Khorasan. He blamed him for incapability to cope with the uprising, and appointed in his place Muaz Ibn Muslim. Collecting a large army in the region between Bukhara and Merv, Muaz proceeded to help the Arab troops which were in an extremely critical situation near Samarkand, captured by the rebels. But the military campaign of Muaz also ended in failure despite considerable support by the local aristocracy. The rebels met the army of Muaz near the valley of Paikand and inflicted deadly blows as a result of which Muaz could not continue his campaign to Samarkand and turned back towards Bukhara.

Only the next year the troops of the Caliph could succeed in taking Samarkand. The third and the last stage of the struggle started.

The main forces of the rebels were concentrated in the mountainous fortress of Sanam near Kesh. Muaz besieged this fortress but soon lifted the siege. The Arab historians maintain that he was compelled to do this because of a cold winter, but the reason was obviously the defeat which Muaz suffered at the hands of forces of Mukanna. This was confirmed by the subsequent removal of Muaz shortly afterwards from the post of vice-regent of Khorasan and appointment by the Caliph of another vice-regent.

Muaz Ibn Muslim, as Narshahi writes, fought against Mukanna for full two years. The new Khorasan vice-regent Musaiyab Ibn Zukhair also spent many years in bloody fighting with him. Taking advantage of his vast superiority, in both number of troops and weaponry, he could, after a prolonged and stubborn struggle crush the resistance of the popular masses led by Mukanna. In 718 A.D. the Arab troops captured the fortress where Mukanna was stationed. All the defenders of the fortress were executed and Mukanna, unwilling to surrender committed suicide. But even after his death separate outbreaks of uprising of "the people clad in white dress" continued for several years in different parts of Central Asia.

During the years when the people of Maverannahr were engaged in the struggle for independence, the Arab Caliphate was considered one of the most powerful states of that time. The

struggle which was led under the banner of Mukanna for several years by popular masses is one more bright example of the courage of freedom-loving people of Central Asia.

The prolonged duration of this struggle, its organised character, testifies to the military and political talent of Mukanna inspiring the people for struggle with alien and local exploiters.

In conclusion, it is necessary to note that the popular uprisings during the reign of the Abbasids are essentially different from uprisings during the Omeiyad period. The uprisings during the Omeiyad period were directed mainly against the domination of alien invaders and they were usually led by the local aristocracy. During the Abbasid period the people rose not only against the ruling dynasty but also against the local aristocrats supporting them.

The movement of Mukanna was the movement of the toiling strata of population, first of all, peasants, directed against increasingly growing feudal enslavement. That is why the uprising of Mukanna played a significant role in the history of the peoples of Central Asia. Notwithstanding the defeat, the popular uprisings developed the class consciousness of the toiling people, brought up the spirit of anger and free thinking among the popular masses and restrained to some extent the exploiting urges of the feudals beginning to strengthen themselves.

Chapter 2

Completion of the Process of Formation of the Tajik People and Its Statehood

The States of Takhirids, Saffarids and Samanids
(9th-10th Centuries)

1. Political History of 9th-10th Centuries

The Strengthening of Local Feudal Aristocracy

Continuous uprisings of the peoples of Maverannahr, against Arab domination, which started during the period of conquest by the Caliphate of Central Asia did not stop even after the suppression of the uprising of Mukanna.

A big uprising broke out in 806 A.D., under the leadership of Rafi Ibn Leis. The vice-regent of the Caliph in Samarkand was killed and the city was in the hands of the rebels for sometime. An active part in this uprising was taken by the settled population of Fargana, Khojent, Bukhara, Ustrushana, Khwarezm, Chaganian and Khuttalyan. The nomadic Turks also came to the assistance of the rebels.

This wide people's uprising was suppressed only in 810 A.D. when its leader Rafi Ibn Leis, in a critical moment, switched over to the side of the enemy.

In subsequent years in Sogd, Ustrushan and Fargana new rebellions broke out.¹ They proved that the vice-regents of the Caliph could not keep Maverannahr and Khorasan in control by armed force only. They were able to rule the country only when the vice-regents took the help of the local aristocracy on a wider

1. Kadirova, T., 1965, pp.138-147.

scale. It was in this way that the Abbasids wanted to paralyse the wish of the aristocracy for independence and at the same time take its help in suppressing the popular uprising. That is why starting from the period of the rule of Caliph Mansur (754-775 A.D.) and during the rule of his successors — Caliphs Mahdi (775-785 A.D.) and Haroon ar-Rashid (786-809 A.D.) — the vazirs from local feudal aristocracy ruled the different regions of Maverannahr, mainly from the families of Barmakids and Samanids. However, it did not lead to strengthening of the power of the Caliphate in Central Asia but on the contrary gave impetus to the development of conditions which helped in freeing Central Asia from Arab domination.

At this time in Iran and Central Asia the Shuubit (anti-Arab Iranophil) movement² became wide-spread. From the middle of 9th century Shuubism became the ideological basis of the anti-Caliphate popular movements (it was spread predominantly in rural areas). Shuubism spread also among the educated circles of local population also who, in all possible ways, emphasised their cultural superiority over the Arabs. At the same time among the local aristocracy the aspiration to capture power in their hands and not to be dependent on the Arab Caliphate grew day by day.

Fearing the growing economic and political influence of the non-Arab aristocracy in the Barmakids, Haroon ar-Rashid ordered to kill all the representatives of the family of Barmakids.³

Haroon ar-Rashid greatly increased the role of the Muslim clergy, trying to receive support from it. He distributed lot of land among them. Simultaneously the policy of attracting the local aristocracy to the side of the Caliphate continued. The liquidation of the family of Barmakids, who during fifty years had a large influence in the court of the Caliph as well as among the local residents, however, did not change the policy of the Caliphate in connection with the rule over eastern region. These regions as before were ruled with the help of the representatives of the land-owning aristocracy. The role of this aristocracy particularly grew

2. Petrushevskii I.P., 1966, pp.248-250.

3. Bart'old W, 1913; Bart'old V.V., 1966b, see also Bouvat L., 1912; Sourdel D., 1959, I, pp.127-182.

from 821, i.e., since the coming to power in Khorasan and Maverannahr of the local dynasties — at first the Takhirids and then Samanids.

The Takhirids (821-873 A.D.)

The ancestors of the Takhirids possessed the city of Busheng in the Herat region. The founder of this dynasty was Takhir Ibn Husein — the master of Busheng. When Mamun, who later became the Caliph, was the vice-regent of Khorasan, Takhir gained great authority in his court. In 811 A.D., in the war of two brothers, the heirs of Haroon ar-Rashid — Amin and Mamun — for power in the Caliphate, Takhir was the commander of the troops of Mamun. In 813 he seized Baghdad and actively helped to ascend the Caliph's throne. Later, for sometime, he was the Chief of all the military forces of the Caliph and in 821 A.D. he was appointed vice-regent of Khorasan.⁴

Takhir ruled over Khorasan and the regions of Central Asia as an independent ruler. In 822 A.D. he even gave an order not to mention the name of the Caliph in the Friday *khutba*,⁵ which amounted to break with Baghdad. After a short period Takhir died. It is believed that he was poisoned by the agents of the Caliph.

Notwithstanding the clearly obvious separatist tendency of Takhir, the Caliph Mamun appointed his son Talkhu (822-828 A.D.) as the vice-regent of Khorasan. The other son of Takhir, Abdallah (830-844 A.D.), considering himself not subordinate to the Caliphate, ruled Khorasan fully independently. During his time Nisapur became the residency of the Takhirids. Caliph Mutasim (833-842 A.D.) hated Abdallah but he was not able to bring him to subjugation. The attempts to poison Abdallah failed.

The Takhirids took strict measures to establish a strong power and put agriculture in order. To regulate the use of water they constructed new canals. On the order of Abdallah the highest law makers of the country, worked out norms for using water for

4. For political events during the Takhirids and Safarids, see details : Bart'old V.V., 1963b, p.265; also Spuler B, 1952, p.59.

5. *Khutiba* — the prayer in honour of the ruling king.

irrigation. The code framed by them served for two centuries as guide for solving disputes related to the use of water.

A letter of Takhir Ibn Husein to Abdallah has been preserved.⁶ In it the questions of the governance of the state, relations with subjects and the principles for levying just taxes, etc. are discussed in a didactic form. Takhir advises his son to levy taxes on his subjects in a just manner, neither exempting the rich nor people close to him. The real motive of this "care" is clearly expressed in the letter : "Remember that the wealth does not bring any profit when it is multiplied and kept in treasury, on the contrary, it grows and multiplies more when it is spent on the needs of the subjects, on the payment due to them and on freeing them from anxiety; by this, the well-being of popular masses is achieved, it serves as a decoration for the rulers, it brings the flourishing of the epoch, glory and power..., with this, thanks to it, you will get an opportunity to collect the due land revenue..., the land tax received by you will multiply and your wealth will grow, and by this you will be able to attract the army to your side and satisfy the popular masses flooding them with your generosity".⁷ Here Takhir acts as spokesman for the interests of his class, however, understanding that indiscriminate exploitation of the people does not pay. It will ruin the people and destroy their paying capacity. It is the interests of his class that brings him to appeal for "reasonable" exploitation. And Abdallah, to some extent, implemented in practice the advice of his father.

Abdallah tried to restrain, as far as possible, the arbitrariness which reigned in the places towards the peasants from the side of big landowners and state officials. He issued special instruction which brought to order the conditions of the peasantry to some extent. "God feeds us by their hands, welcomes us through their mouths and prohibits to wrong them" — said Abdallah in his instruction. Of course, Abdallah was not the man who defended the interests of the peasantry; he only cared for the interests of big landowners and traders. He demanded not "to wrong" the peasants

6. Shmidt A.E., 1925, pp.127-137.

7. *Ibid.*, pp.132-135.

because without this a normal flow of taxes into the treasury of the state was impossible.

The conditions of population, particularly the peasantry remained hard during the period of the Takhirids, also. Peasants were subjected to increased exploitation from the side of big landowners and simultaneously they were made to pay large taxes to the state. This can be judged from the fact that the sum of taxes in 844 A.D. was extremely high; 48 million *dirhams*. Peasant uprisings in Seistan almost never ceased.

The Takhirids spread Islam intensively trying to find support for their centralised policy in the Muslim clergy. During the reign of the Takhirid, Islam took root in Ushtrushana also where Zoroastrianism survived longer than anywhere else. Abdallah helped in opening the trial in 840 A.D. of the former Afshin of Ushtrushana, Haidar, who after embracing Islam became one of the more famous military commanders of Caliph Mutasim. In the trial he was accused of concealing his real intentions behind conversion to Islam and in reality preparing for a coup d'état in Ushtrushana in order to restore its independence and ancient religion. In the trial it was established that the people of Ushtrushana embraced Islam only formally and in reality they continued to practise the local religion.⁸

The state needed a large number of literate officials and Abdallah saw to it that education became available to wider groups of population than earlier. Like his father he was a poet. His nephew Mansur who ruled Merv, Amul and Khwarezm was famous for his philosophical writings. The son of Abdallah — Takhir II — (844-862 A.D.) tried to imitate his father in everything. In general the period of Abdallah and Takhir II was the beginning of the rebirth of local culture.⁹ However this process was complex and contradictory. The fact is that the representatives of the Takhirid dynasty themselves, particularly

8. For this important trial see : Bart'old V.V., 1963b, p.269; Sadighi G.H., 1938, pp.287-305; Herfeld E., 1948, pp.138-152; Wright E.M., 1948, pp.124-131; Spuler B., 1952, pp.62-67; Negmatov N., 1957, pp.140-150. For some important ideas on this trial see : Henning W.B., 1965a.

9. Spuler W., 1952, pp.68-69; 231-235.

Abdallah Ibn Takhir, insistently underlined their allegiance to the Arab culture.¹⁰

In the 9th and beginning of the 10th centuries in Iran the Zoroastrian communes were flourishing and exactly at this time such Zoroastrian writings as "Bundakhshan" and "Denkart" and also many secular works were composed.¹¹ The Takhirids could not ignore all this. More so, politically their main rival was the Abbasid Caliphate. But the Takhirids were taking support from the regions of the majority of the Iranian-speaking population. That is why the Takhirids, allowed poets, particularly sympathising with Shuubits to glorify them, comparing them with the kings and heroes of pre-Muslim Iran. In the court of the Takhirids along with the Arabic language, Persian was also used. In Merv there was a library where books in medieval Persian language were preserved.¹²

It has to be acknowledged that an important role in elevation of the local culture was played not by the Takhirids but by the Saffarids who replaced them.

The Saffarids (873-903 A.D.)

In the 9th-10th centuries, as in the preceding epoch, one of the tasks of the state power in the agricultural oases of Central Asia was the organisation of defence from the raids of the nomads. With this purpose, in the above period, the special troops of armed volunteers were raised which were called *gazi* — fighters for the faith. The *gazi* consisted mostly of bankrupt landowners and artisans. These people, who selected war as their profession, were sent to those places where skirmishes with the "infidels" were taking place.

The local rulers used the troops of *gazis* to serve in the fortresses on the border of agricultural oases with the nomads' steppe. The *gazis*, as Arab geographerr Makdisi writes, were the "main support and at the same time subject of worry" for the local ruler : from one side they repelled the raids of nomads and

10. Bosworth S.E., 1969a.

11. Petrushevskii I.P., 1960, pp.36-37; Frye R.N., 1963, pp.238-241.

12. Bosworth S.E., 1969b.

guarded the agricultural oases from the attack of the enemies but from the other side they were often active participants in the popular movements against local aristocracy.

At the end of the 9th century the armed troops of *gazis* became the nucleus of a large popular movements on the border of Central Asia and Iran. This movement was used by brothers Yakub Ibn Leis and Amir Ibn Leis.¹³ At first they organised a bandit group which shortly joined the detachment of the *gazis* in Seistan. Bravery and fighting capabilities of Yakub enabled him to take in his hand the command of the detachment. The detachment took an active part in the political life of the region and, using popular uprisings in the agricultural oases in 861 A.D., drove away the Takhirid ruler and captured the centre of Seistan — the city of Zerenj.

Yakub became the ruler of the region and within ten years he captured several eastern regions of the Caliphate which were ruled by the last representative of the Takhird dynasty Mohammad Ibn Takhir (862-873 A.D.)¹⁴. In 873 A.D. Yakub crushed the army of the Takhirids and captured the capital of Khororasan, the city of Nisapur. The power of the Takhirids, in Central Asia and in eastern regions of present Iran, was thrown over board.

Although the Baghdad government, which was extremely worried by successes of Yakub, undertook some measures in order to cut off the further spread of his influence but these did not yield any results. In 874 A.D. the Caliph, recognising an accomplished fact, handed over to Yakub the rule of the entire Khorasan.

Till the end of his life Yakub remained a modest warrior. He wore a simple dress of cotton and did not use carpets, sat on the ground, slept on old horse cloth, putting under his head the shield and the folded banner. At the same time the ideas which fed the popular movements of Central Asia were completely alien to him.

13. According to some information Yakub was a coppersmith (Arabic-Saffar). From this the name of the dynasty "Saffarids". Ami was a carpenter. For detailed research see : Barthold W., 1906.

14. Mohammad Takhrid was one of the biggest feudals. It is said that his lands in Mazanderan gave him an income of about one million *dirhams* (the total revenue of Mazanderan was 13,630 thousand *dirhams*. See : Ibn Isfendiyar, I., 1320/1941, p.74.

In his army strict discipline prevailed. He demanded much from the soldiers and commanders at the same time displaying himself an astonishing bravery. In one of the battles his face was disfigured by sword to the extent that for twenty days he could eat only through the pipe put in his mouth. After convalescing he fought with the same courage.

One of the composite part of his army were *al-mutatavvya* (literally "volunteers") who were contemptuously called *aiyars* (one of the meanings is "swindlers, bandits"). This was a separate strata of the "fighters for faith" which was supplemented by landless and fugitive peasants. *Aiyars* played a significant role in the political life, particularly of Seistan where they actively fought the invaders. Perhaps those *Aiyars* who showed special courage in the battle were moved higher into status strata — *sarhangs*. Along with the *Aiyars* there were also in the army *azadagan* ("free") — the sons of *dihkans* and landowners and also the troops of *gulams* — slaves. Initially at the disposal of the Saffarids were only two or three thousand troops but already in 874/75 A.D. Yakub was able to push into the battle 15 thousand of cavalry. The Saffarid army had a war machinery; the fighting elephants were also used in the battle. During military campaign the battle outposts and scouts were given special importance. Every three months the warriors were given salary. Periodically during *nauruz* inspection review of the troops was held. Every warrior beginning with the Amir himself demonstrated to a special official his horse, weapons, etc. and then received money.¹⁵

The successes of Yakub Ibn Leis did not improve the hard conditions of the simple toilers with whose help he came to power. Yakub mainly took support from the small and middle feudal landowners. In the regions captured by him he left without any change in the earlier regime existing there and did not decrease the size of the tax, the heavy burden of which fell on the cultivators.

In 876 A.D. Yakub decided to capture the power in the Caliphate and moved his troops towards Baghdad, but was defeated by the troops of the Caliph at Dar al-Akul and retreated when Baghdad was just 100 kilometres away. According to

15. Bart'old V.V., 1963b, pp.272-280; Bosworth C.E., 1968.

historical sources one of the reasons of defeat of Yakub Ibn Leis was his refusal to accept help from Ali Ibn Mohammad Burkai who was the leader of the uprising of slaves — Negroes (*Zinjis*) in Iraq which lasted about 14 years (869-883 A.D.). Yakub Ibn Leis did not consider it worthwhile to enter into an alliance with the slaves as he himself stood for the preservation of slavery. Three years later, after the unsuccessful military campaign against Baghdad, Yakub Ibn Leis, founder of the Saffarid dynasty died. The troops installed his brother Amir Ibn Leis on the throne.

Taking the place of his brother Amir Ibn Leis (879-900 A.D.) hastened to appeal to the Caliph expressing his allegiance as a result of which he got the vice-regency of Khorasan and some eastern regions of Iran. But in fact Amir (as well as the Takhirids) was independent of the Caliphate. According to sources Amir was a good administrator and possessed military talent.

According to some data the Saffarids used the Shia sectarian movement to a considerable extent which was successful among peasants and artisans (to Yakub is attributed a statement : "Instead of Kaaba we will establish the cult of the sun").

Formation of the Samanid State

The forefather of the Samanids, Saman, belonged either to Balkh or the outskirts of Samarkand or from Termez¹⁶. He accepted Islam and was patronised by the Khorasan vice-regent. His grandsons — Nukh, Ahmad, Yahya and Ilias — were in the service of the Caliph himself on whose instruction the Khorasan vice-regent appointed them as the rulers of four regions : Nuh got Samarkand, Ahmad — Fargana, Yahya — Chach and Ustrushana and Ilias — Herat. From the outside it looked as if all the brothers were the favourite lords of their regions and were directly subordinate to the Khorasan vice-regent. However, in reality it was just the opposite.

Nuh, the eldest among the four brothers, occupied a special position. He acted as the head of the family in all the external relations. Historians have not paid enough attention to this fact. But numismatic materials show that in this early period the

16. Davidovich, E.A., 1954, pp. 78-79.

brothers considered themselves not as separate rulers but only as a dynasty, at the helm of which stood Nuh. It is not accidental that the earliest Samanid coins were minted in his name. One of them is particularly interesting. It was minted in Binket — the state of Yahya — and carried not the name of Yahya but of Nuh. That is why this conclusion is convincing that from the very beginning in the minds of the grandsons of Saman the idea of dynastic unity matured, as one of the conditions for making the family a powerful dynasty, capable of transforming Central Asia into a region independent from the Arab Caliphate and the Takhirids.

After the death of Nuh, the head of this small, already not fully formed dynasty, became his brother Ahmad. Distinguished by his energy and talents Ahmad purposefully started “collecting” the lands of his brothers and establishing his dynastic priorities. In particular, already his life time he was able to hand over Samarkand to his son, Nasr, who became the head of the dynasty, after the death of his father in 864 A.D. In 875 A.D., the Caliph recognised him as the head of the dynasty and sent to him a “document” for ruling over the state.

The position of Nasr was not easy. His elder relatives demanded separate states and sometimes even refused to acknowledge him as the head of the dynasty in external forms. The struggle of Nasr with the separatist urges of his brothers was neither persistent nor successful. For example, as long as the uncle of Nasr — Mohammad Ibn Nuh — ruled Chach, he recognised his nephew as the head of the dynasty and minted copper coins in his name, while mentioning himself as a vassal ruler. But when Chach was inherited by the brother of Nasr — Yakub — he started minting coins in his own name. Fargana was ruled by the brother of Nasr — Asad : Nasr and Asad were allies in the struggle against other brothers. But, nevertheless, Asad minted in Akhtiket, the capital of Fargana, coins in his name. Nasr was not mentioned as a suzerain and he reconciled with it. Particularly complicated were Nasr's relations with his other brother Ismail. Ismail only got in 874 A.D. the large state of Bukhara. Before this Bukhara did not belong to the Samanids. When the inhabitants of this city rose against the wrong doings of the vice-regent of Bukhara and drove him away, the aristocracy of the city appealed to Nasr and he appointed Ismail as

the vice-regent.¹⁷ But Ismail had to use all his brains, treachery and resilience in order to effectively strengthen his power in Bukhara.

Bukhara was a state gifted to Ismail for his services. An analysis of the text of Narshahi leads to the conclusion¹⁸ that Ismail had to pay a larger part of his revenue from the Bukhara region to the treasury of Nasr (about 700 thousand dirhams *gitrifi*) and only a lesser part (500 thousand dirhams *gitrifi*) were left to himself as reward for the service as a vice-regent. Having strengthened his power in the city, Ismail stopped caring for Nasr and appropriated all the revenue of this rich region.

Between the brothers there ensued a long struggle. Till then it was customary to think that this was a political struggle for power, but such a conclusion is not supported by the sources. A detailed description of the mutual relations of the brothers shows that this was, to a considerable extent, a struggle on the economic grounds, that Ismail only wanted to keep Bukhara for himself with all rights and privileges. Both the military clashes between the two brothers took place only on account of Ismail appropriating to himself that part of the revenue from Bukhara which was to be paid to Nasr's treasury : the first clash (886 A.D.) ended in a temporary removal of Ismail from the post of vice-regent of Bukhara, the second (888 A.D.) ended in the victory of Ismail but the latter did not take away the throne from Nasr as at this stage he did not claim it. He was struggling for economic and political independence of Bukhara, for converting it into his principality and finally succeeded in 888 A.D. In 892 A.D. after the death of Nasr he became the head of the state and his principality Bukhara — his new capital.

After the end of internecine wars and pacification of rebellions, one more task faced Ismail : to ensure the external security for the state. The external situation of the country was alarming. The growing power of the Samanid state under Ismail, which grew day by day, caused concern to the centre under the Caliphate and the incessant raids by the neighbouring nomad tribes inflicted heavy blows on the agricultural economy of the oases.

17. Bart'old V.V., 1963b, p.281.

18. Davidovich E.A., 1954, pp.71-77.



Bronze Weight with the Name of Ismail Samani

In the struggle against Ismail, the Caliph used the ruler of Khorasan — Amir Ibn Leis Saffarid. In 898 A.D. the Caliph invited the pilgrims arriving in Baghdad from Central Asia to his palace and in their presence read out the letter (order) about removing Ismail and appointing Amr Saffarid, as the ruler of Maverannahr. This letter he sent afterwards along with valuable presents to Amr. Instigating Amr against Ismail the Caliph desired to weaken them both in the interest of strengthening the power of the Caliphate over Central Asia. On receiving the letter Amr set out against Ismail. Ismail, writes Narshahi, armed the “artisans and ordinary people” and with large forces started advancing towards Balkh and blocked his way.

Ismail defeated Amir Ibn Leis near the walls of Bukhara in 900 A.D. as he was supported by the popular masses, ordinary people and artisans.¹⁹ It is testified by Tabari,²⁰ Ibn Miskaveikh,²¹ and Narshahi in particular, narrating how Ismail provided food stuffs and weapons to both aristocrats and ordinary people, weaver-artisans. Amir, who underestimated the formidable power

19. Gafurov B.G. 1958, pp.53-54.

20. Tabari, III, 21-94

21. Ibn Miskaveikh, p.10.

of the popular forces, was defeated.²² The statement of Narshahi about the arming by Ismail of ordinary people and weavers is confirmed by "Tarikhi Seistan": "Ismail Ibn Ahmad in Maverannahr ordered the messengers to announce that Amir has come to capture Maverannahr, to kill people, to rob the property and enslave children and women". As it was really so, all the artisans in Maverannahr took his side and started the battle against Amir with the words "better glorious death than slavery".

In 900 A.D., as a result of skillful maneuvering, Ismail succeeded in surrounding the army of Amir to destroy it and establish his power in Khorasan.

The successes of Ismail in war against the nomads were no less significant than in his victory over Amir. Nomads, for a long time abandoned the idea of making raids on the agricultural oases of Maverannahr. In order to secure the oases of Bukhara, from intrusions of nomads, a high wall running dozens of kilometers between the agricultural oases and nomad steppe was built much before Ismail. The annual repair of this wall was a charge on the people. As historians of tenth century write this was a very heavy burden. When Ismail defeated the nomads he freed the population of Bukhara and its outskirts of this obligation. "As long as I am alive, I am the wall of Bukhara" — said Ismail. Narshahi writes that Ismail himself took part in battles not giving a chance to the enemy to capture the Bukhara region.

Using the struggle of the popular masses for independence, Ismail, for the first time, after the Arab conquest, united the country split by internecine wars and established a strong and independent state. Putting end to the power of the Saffarids, Ismail not only established his power over Maverannahr and Khorasan but also became the ruler of several eastern and northern regions of Iran and secured a real independence of the state established by him from the Arab Caliphate.

Being a big feudal aristocrat, Ismail defended the interests of local feudal aristocrat and traders. It was in their interests that he tried to strengthen the external security of the country and bring order in the internal rule. These measures and also, first of all, the

22. Narshahi, Teheran edition, p.105.

Union of Khorasan and Maverannahr around one centre, ensuring of factual independence of the country and regulation of relations with nomads, created the necessary conditions for the development of agriculture, crafts and trade in Maverannahr and Khorasan.

The State System and Organisation of the Ruling Apparatus

The founder of the Samanid state Ismail Samani understood very well that to ensure the independence of Maverannahr, from the Arab Caliphate, it is necessary to create a strong centralised power.

With this objective he undertook certain measures. One of them was the introduction of a harmonious system of state rule.²³ During the Samanid rule, the state apparatus consisted of the King's Court (*Dargah*) and *Diwans* (Military—Civil Central Office)²⁴ In the conditions of feudal life, this division was followed not very strictly: the influential court nobles often interfered in the affairs which were in the competence of one or the other *Diwan*.

As Narshahi notes, during the reign of Nasr II Samanid (914-943 A.D.) around Bukhara's Registan (the square situated near the arch-citadel) were built ten large buildings for ten *diwans* whose functions were as follows : *diwan vazir* was considered the main official who controlled all administrative, political and economic institutions of the state. The heads of other *diwans* were subordinate to him. For the post of the *diwan vazir* usually one of the representatives of the three families — Jeihani, Balani or Utbi — was appointed.

Diwan Mustaufi — state treasury,²⁵ *Diwan amid al mulk* was in charge of all important state documents and also managed

23. Bart'old V.V., 1963b, pp. 285 and onwards.

24. The system of Diwans already existed in Sasanid Iran. In the Arab Caliphate it was introduced with the advent to power of the Abbasids when the representatives of the local landed aristocracy were drawn into the state affairs (Mets A., 1966, pp.70-73; Spuler B., 1952, p.337; Sourdel D., II, 1960, pp. 589-605.

25. V.V. Bart'old assumed that this *diwan*, perhaps corresponded to the "diwan Kharaj" of the Abbasids (Bart'old V.V., 1963b, p.289). There is

diplomatic relations with the other states. *Diwan sahib ash — shurat* had under him the guards of the Samanids. He supervised the distribution of food stuffs and salary to the army and its maintenance.²⁶

Diwan Sahib al-Barid (the head of post office) was incharge of the state correspondence. But the local workers of this *Diwan* were preoccupied not only with post office affairs but also provided the centre secret information about rulers and local state officials, about their conduct, discharging the functions of officials of the “dark rooms”. The *Diwan* of the post office was distinguished from others by the fact that his local institutions were subordinate not to the rulers of the regions (Hakims) but directly to his central office. The post office of that period served only the needs of the state and was not accessible to the population. *Diwan mukhtasiba* watched the market, checked the accuracy of the weights and measurements, sale of goods to the peasants and artisans. He could stop the trade in spurious and bad quality goods, ban the sale of products for higher prices. This *Diwan* started gradually to supervise the morals of the people, going to mosques and abstinence from drinking wine. There was no city which did not have its own *mukhtasiba*.

*Diwan mushhrifov*²⁷ controlled the state affairs especially revenue and expenditure of the treasury.

Besides these *Diwans* there were also *Diwan* of state lands, *Diwan* of law suits, which was headed by the main *qazi* (judge), and *Diwan vakufni*. Al Khwarezmi mentions, the *Diwan* of military affairs as well as whatever is not mentioned in the account by Narshahi.²⁸ The absence of *Diwan* of military affairs, in the list of Narshahi, can be explained by the fact that he did not have a

information that “*diwan* at Kharaj” was there during the Samanids also (Bosworth C.E., 1963, p. 28).

26. It cannot be excluded that the most important functions of this *Diwan* were related to police (Spuler B., 1952, pp. 335-336; Bosworth C.E., 1963, p. 29.).

27. From the Arabic, *Ishraf* (“observation from the high place”). Hence the view that this *Diwan* was preoccupied with domestic espionage (Bosworth C.E., 1963, p. 29).

28. Bosworth C.E., 1963, p.29, 270.

permanent place of stay and used to move with the main forces of the army. The local institutions of all the above mentioned *Diwans*, except the *Diwan* of post office, had double subordination : from one side they were subordinate to the rulers of the regions, from the other — to the corresponding Central *Diwan*.

The rulers of the regions were mostly appointed from among the members of the dynasty and influential feudal aristocracy including former local rulers. Along with these rulers, in every city there was a city ruler — *Rais*, to this post and was appointed from among the local city aristocracy.

In 10th century, during the rule of the Samanids, the Muslim clergy played a big role. In Maverannah the so-called Hanafi school of Islam was in vogue. The head of the clergy — *ustad* (Subsequently Sheikh al-Islam) had great importance in the Samanid state.

However, the harmonious system of state rule does not at all testify that the Samanid state can be considered as a strictly centralised one.

During the entire period of rule by the Samanids the struggle of the central power with the centrifugal tendencies of separate feudal rulers did not stop. Neither Ismail Samanid nor his successors, notwithstanding the fierce struggle they conducted for the strengthening of centralised power, were not able to conduct this struggle in many localities and outskirts of Central Asia. Khwarezm, Chaganian, Khuttalyan and other regions were incorporated in the state of the Samanids though only nominally. But in fact the rulers of these regions ruled there independently. For example, in Khuttalyan, for well over two centuries (9th - 10th centuries) ruled the representatives of the local dynasty of Banijurids.²⁹ To them belonged all the revenues of this rich region and they sent only gifts to the Samanids. Thus trying to stop, the resistance of local feudals and drawing them to their side by appointing them rulers of the regions, the Samanids in most of the cases suffered failure.

29. See for details : Fasmer R., 1925; Belenitskii A.M., 1950a, pp. 124-126.

The institution of feudal land grants which was quite developed during the Samanid period, literally “exploded” the state from within so that even its main territory appeared to be split to some extent. The members of the dynasty and high dignitaries, who owned on the basis of grant the regions and cities, aspired for complete independence and often achieved the status quite independent of the Central power.

The practice of appointment by the rulers of the region, of famous chiefs of the guards of the Samanid court, used initially for the suppression of the resistance of local feudals and popular uprisings, also did not give the expected results. The Turk military commanders, taking advantage of the discontent of the local feudals and of the internal class struggle, themselves rose sometimes against the Central power and declared their regions independent.

Feudal Internecine Wars and Weakening of the State of the Samanids

Karakhanid conquest

After the death of Ismail (907 A.D.) in the beginning of the reign of Ahmad Ibn Ismail (907-914 A.D.), rebellion broke out in some regions. The rulers of Samarkand, Reis and Seistan rose in rebellion. Sometime after the suppression of these rebellions a popular uprising in Seistan began which was the result of increase in taxes and drastic worsening of conditions of the peasants. The Samanids quelled this uprising with great difficulty.

Ahmad Ibn Ismail evoked animosity of the Turk guards and was killed during hunting by his slaves. During the reign of his son Nasr II (914-943 A.D.) the rule of the state was taken over by the vazir Abu Abdullah Mohammad-ibn-Ahmad Jeihani.

Jeihani was one of the most enlightened persons of that time. As Gardizi writes, during his period as vazir, he put in order the rule of the country. But the internecine wars continued. For example, according to Arab writer Ibn al-Asir, at the end of 914 and beginning of 915 A.D. in Samarkand, the relatives of Nasr II, Ishak ibn-Ahmad raised a rebellion. After sometime, first in Herat and then in Nisapur, the so-called Karmat (Ismailite) movement started, which was headed by big military commander Husein ibn-

Ali Mervezi.³⁰ Ahmed Ibn Sahl, a big landowner, who defeated the forces of Husein Mervezi and took him prisoner, soon after rose against Samanids, and only after a year, this rebellion was suppressed.

After the death of Husein Mervezi the leadership of Karmat movement in Maverannahr came into the hands of Mohammad Ibn Ahmad Nakshabi. Nakshabi won great successes. He persuaded many big dignitaries of Samanid government to accept Karmatism. Among them, there were chief Hajib, the private secretary of the Samanid Amir; chief of *Diwan mustaufi* and the ruler of Ilak. Through these people Nakshabi was able to enter the court of Nasr II Samanid.

At the end of the reign of Nasr II the Karmat movement became considerably stronger. Nasr II himself accepted Karmat's teachings and at the request of Nakshabi gave his consent to pay to the Egypt Caliph 119 thousand *dinars* as a "vira" — punishment for the death of Husein Ali Mervezi who died in Bukhara prison and was a secret emissary of the Fatimids. All this caused serious discontentment among the Muslim clergy. In collusion with the

30. Husein ibn-Ali Mervezi was connected with the Caliphate of Fatimids, at the head of which stood Ismailite. However, historical sources usually call him Karmat. The contradictory use of the terms "Ismailite" and "Karmat" in the sources is explained by the following reasons: during the war of Zinijeis and a Karmat uprising at the end of the 9th century, the two inimical to the Abbaasid Caliphate states — Karmat in Bahrain and Fatimid (in the name of Fatima the daughter of Mohammad from whom the Fatimids originated) Caliphate in Magrib were formed, which afterwards conquered Egypt. The social system and ideology of these two states were different in particular on the question of power, etc. Karmats during the uprising and later when they, in 930 A.D., after a raid from Bahrain, captured Mecca and took away its main holy relic — the "black stone", became famous in the entire Orient for being the most brave and militant heretics. In 10th-11th centuries when the Fatimids and the Karmat state were simultaneously waging a struggle against the Abbasid Caliphate, orthodox Muslim sources often called Ismailite preachers, the messengers of Egypt, as Karmats. These words meant "heretic", "struggling against orthodox Sunni Islam" and also the meaning of Shiite, "Rafizit", because the Ismailites considered themselves as supporters of Ali and his successors and Karmats had the same views in form as the Shiites (for details see: Zahoder B.N., 1940; Bertels E., 1959, p.52 and onwards; Petrushevskii I.P., 1966, p.280 and onwards).

representatives of Turk palace guards, the clergy organised a conspiracy against Nasr II. For implementation of this conspiracy it was decided to organise a night feast for the military commanders in honour of impending campaign of the Samanid Amir against the nomads and in this feast murder Nasr II and crush all the Karmat followers.

However, the son of Nasr II, Nuh, came to know about the planned assassination. On his demand, Nasr II called, before himself, the Chief of conspirators and executed him and then along with Nuh came to the night feast organised for military commanders. At the peak of the festivities Nasr II announced that he knew about the conspiracy and ordered to throw the head of the executed chief at the feet of feasting military commanders. Immediately he declared his abdication of the throne in favour of his son Nuh whom nobody could blame for sympathy with the Karmat movement.

As the historical chronicles record, after officially ascending the throne, Nuh Ibn Nasr invited Nakhshabi and ordered him to participate in the debate with Muslim *fakikhs* (theologists) and publicly prove the correctness of his faith. Of course, the Muslim theologists were declared the winners in the debate. Nakhshabi was blamed for allegedly stealing 40 thousand *dinars* from the sum allocated for payment to the Fatimids as *vira* for murdering Husein Mervezi and he was hanged on the square in Bukhara on the order of Nuh. Interestingly, the very next day after the execution of Nakhshabi, his body vanished from the gallows.

Thereafter, mass liquidation of the Karmats in all places and confiscation of their property started. Since then the Karmat movement continued to exist in Maverannahr, only as an underground movement. But even this secret organisation of the followers of this heresy was very active in Bukhara for a long time. Karmat preachers were captured and executed in Bukharta in 1045 A.D. during the reign of the Karakhanids, i.e., after hundred years of the events described above.

During the reign of Nuh Ibn Nasr (943-954 A.D.) the symptoms of the fall of the Samanid state were clearly seen. In the first years of the rule of Nuh serious financial difficulties appeared. In 942 A.D. taxes from the population were collected

twice. The financial difficulties were so acute that the army and the guards of the Amir were not paid their salaries for long, which caused serious discontent in the army. In order to pacify the discontented, even though briefly, Nuh Ibn Nasr blamed his Vazir for all the financial problems and ordered to execute him. Of course, this step did not lead to improvement of the financial situation in the country.

Taking advantage of the difficult situation of Nuh, his uncle Ibrahim Ibn Ahmad, in January 947 A.D., with the help of big Chaganian feudal Abu Ali Chagani seized power. The palace guards of Nuh who after the death of Nasr did not receive their salaries supported Ibrahim. Nuh was compelled to retreat to Samarkand. However, when Abu Ali left for Chaganian, Nuh again seized the throne, and his uncle and two brothers, who had participated in the rebellion, were blinded by him.

In the last years of his reign Nuh was pre-occupied with the struggle mainly against the rebellious Abu Ali Chagani. After unsuccessful attempts to suppress the rebellion by military means, Nuh was forced to appoint Abu Ali, first as the ruler of Chaganian and then also the ruler of Khorasan in 952 A.D.

The reign of the eldest son of Nuh, Abd al-Malik I (954-961 A.D.) is characterised by increase in the political influence of the military chiefs of the Turk guards to whom the entire governance of the state had shifted.

At this time the head of the Turk guards and big feudal Alptegin emerged as a great "*hajib*". His influence was so great that without his consent Abdal Malik could not appoint anybody as *Vazir*. During the brief period from 954 to 959 A.D. the post of *Vazir* changed hands four times till a friend of Alptegin, Abu Ali Balami, was appointed to this post. Alptegin and Abu Ali agreed to be Deputies of each other and Abu Ali Balami was not to act without the concurrence of Alptegin.

The death of Abdal Malik caused turbulence in Bukhara. The rebellious residents of the capital burnt and looted the palace of the Amir. At the instance of Alptegin a minor son of Abdal Malik was declared Amir. But he ruled only for a day because other military chiefs and big feudals did not support the efforts of

Alptegin to strengthen his power, and they installed Mansur Ibn Nuh Samanid (961-976 A.D.) on the throne.

After several skirmishes with Samanid military commanders in the regions of Merv and Balkh, Alptegin proceeded to Gazna and in 962 A.D. he seized the power. Mansur Ibn Nuh could restore the power of the Samanids in Gazna only after the death of Alptegin in 963 A.D.

After the death of Mansur, during the reign of his son Nuh II (976-997 A.D.), the wars and rebellions of local feudals and rulers increased even further in whose hands the separate regions of the Samanid state including many localities of Khorasan had fallen.

The state had weakened to such an extent that it could not withstand outside attacks. In such a situation the Samanid state, in 992 A.D., suffered the first raid of the Turk nomad tribes headed by the Khans, whose dynasty received the name of Karakhanids in the historical literature. By the time of their intrusion in Maverannahr, the Karakhanids already possessed the valley of Semirechiya and part of Eastern Turkestan — Kashgar. The largest and most cultured tribes among the Karakhanid Turks were the Karluks.

All attempts of Nuh II to mobilise military forces of the country did not give positive results. It was impossible to raise the population against the Turk invasion under the banner of a religious war because the Karakhanid Turks were followers of Islam which spread among them as a result of trade connections with the cities and agricultural oases of Maverannahr. The powerful military commanders did not support Nuh II. The vice-regent of Khorasan, Abu Ali Simjuri concluded a secret pact with Karakhanid Bogra — Khan and did not send Khorasan troops for defence of the Maverannahr. The army, sent against Bogra Khan, was defeated as a result of betrayal of the chief of troops Faik, who joined Bogra-Khan and advanced towards Bukhara. As a result of this betrayal the Karakhanid troops did not face any resistance and without any difficulty captured the capital of the Samanid state — Bukhara. Nuh II was forced to flee to Amul.

The sudden death of Bogra-Khan changed the situation. The Karakhanid troops, after grabbing rich booty, returned to the steppe.

The events of 992 A.D. showed the weakness of the Samanid state. Abu Ali Simjuri and Faik rebelled against Nuh II — one in Khorasan and the other in the region of Balkh.

Returning the Bukhara, Nuh II, not relying on his own forces Sebuk-tegin, appealed for help to the ruler of Gazna Sebuk-tegin, an outstanding military commander, who came from the Turk guards of the Samanid court. He became a relative of Alp-tegin and after his death fortified his power in Gazna by incorporating into it several more regions. Sebuktegin on the request of Nuh II immediately proceeded to Maverannahr. With a 20 thousand strong army he crossed the Amu Daria and first entered Kesh (Shahrisubz) and then Neksheb (Karshi) and from there along with Nuh moved against Abu Ali and Faik. After several battles the troops of Abu Ali and Faik were defeated and they themselves fled to Gurgan. For this service Nuh II rewarded Sebuktegin with the title of “Nasir-addin-v-ad-daula” (“defender of religion and state”). A son of Sebuktegin, Mahmud, who also distinguished himself in the battle against the rebels, received the title of “Saif-ad-daula” (the “sword of the state”) and was appointed vice-regent of Khorasan in place of Abu Ali Simjuri.

In 995-996 A.D. a new uprising of the rulers of separate Samanid regions took place. The Karakhanid Turks renewed their attempt to capture the territory of the Samanid state. But this time Nuh II with the help of Sebuktegin suppressed the uprising and averted the attack of the Karakhanids on Bukhara. However, he was compelled to surrender to them the north-eastern regions of the Samanid state, situated in the basin of the Syr Daria. The influence of the Gazanvids in Mavrennahr after this increased to the extent that Nuh II actually ceased to be an independent ruler.

In 997 A.D. both Nuh II and Sebuktegin died. The Amir, Mansur Ibn Nuh (997-999 A.D.) son of Nuh II, was under the strong influence of Mahmud Gazanvid. The rulers of Nisapur, Begtuzun and Faik, who were in league with the Karakhanids, fearing further approchement of Mansur Ibn Nuh with Mahmud, blinded Mansur after which he soon died (999 A.D.). The throne was ascended by the brother of Mansur — Abdal Malik II Ibn Nuh, on the insistence of Begtuzun and Faik.

Under the pretext of bloody revenge for Mansur, Mahmud Gazanvid, moved his troops against the Samanid court and compelled the Samanid Amir to surrender the northern part of present Afghanistan. After sometime Mahmud Gazanvid captured the entire Khorasan. Only Maverannahr remained under the rule of the Samanid Abdul Malik II Ibn Nuh.

However, in 999 A.D. this last stronghold also fell under the new attack of the Karakhanids. Karakhanid ruler Nasr-ilek seized Bukhara, the capital of the Samanids, and Abdal Malik and other members of the family were imprisoned in the dungeon.

About these events Hilal as-Sabi narrates briefly but expressively. His narration was first discovered in a manuscript form and published by B.P. Rozen, at the end of the 19th century. This is what the eye witness of the event writes : "I was in Bukhara when the Khan troops arrived. Then *khatibs* (preachers) of the Samanids mounted the platforms of the complex of mosques and incited people to fight. They were speaking in the name of the Samanids : 'you know how well we treated you and how softly we behaved with you. Now this enemy is threatening us and you now must help us and fight for us : Pray God to bless you in the cause of helping us'. The residents of Bukhara, as the residents of Maverannahr, mostly carry arms when people heard this they went to *fakikhs* (jurists) and asked for *fatwa* whether to fight or not : but they prohibited them saying : 'if the Khanids had squabbled with the Samanids because of religion, then it would have been necessary to fight them. But when the fight is for the common good of the whole world then it is not advisable for Muslims to destroy themselves. The way of life of these people (Khanids - B.G.) is excellent and their faith is unexceptionable, and [hence] it is better to obtain [from any interference]' And it was one of the main reasons for the seizure of power by the Khanids and the fleeing and fall of the Samanids".³¹

V.V. Bart'old in his times rightly noted : "... in the sources there is no mention of the resistance whatsoever to Bogra-Khan during his movement from Isfijab to Samarand and Bukhara and during the seizure by him of the capital of the Samanids. It is very

31. Rozen B., 1888, p.275.

likely that the people who suffered a lot from constant disturbances took the change of the dynasty quite indifferently.”³² The Samanid state ceased to exist.

The class antagonism and also the struggle between the feudals and the central government, quarrels between the Samanids and their military commanders — Turks — unending intrigues between representatives of the court and the officials of *Diwans* — all this shook the state of the Samanids and at the end of the 10th century its power was only left as a memory.

In conditions when the local feudal fighting with each other with weapons in hand, struggled against measures of the central government and refused to subordinate themselves to it, the Samanids surely could not withstand the raids from outside. The popular masses of Maverrannahr who bore the heavy burden of taxes and many times rose against the Samanids in rebellion, also did not come for their defence. And the Turk guards which were the single most powerful support of the throne, did not have a secure rear and were not in a position to repel the attack of the enemy. That is why the Samanids could not withstand the foreign onslaught and disappeared from the political scene.

2. Economy, Material Culture and Socio-Economic Relations

Agriculture

The main part of the toiling population was engaged in agriculture and cattle-breeding. The culture of irrigated cultivation in Central Asia and Khorosan had reached a high level of development. The network of canals and complex irrigational structures ensured intensification of land cultivation. For characterising the economy it is quite important to identify, whether in the 9th-10th centuries, substantial changes in the size of irrigated land and the irrigation system had taken place in comparison with the preceding period. In the 9th-10th centuries, in the framework of big state formations, there existed undoubtedly objective pre-requisites for large

32. Bart'old V.V., 1963b, pp. 319-320.

irrigation work which were difficult to implement in the period preceding the Arab conquest when Central Asia was divided in a large number of independent principalities, sometimes very small. That is why it could be expected that the 9th-10th centuries would be a new and higher stage for development of irrigated agriculture in comparison to the 6th-7th centuries. But there is little concrete material for drawing such a conclusion.³³ For example, it is known that a new canal was built in Chach, with sources provided by Caliph Mutasim (833-842 A.D.). The organisation of the administration of large irrigation system was changed. It became centralised. It is known that in the basin of Murghab, as well as basin of Zeravshan, only one person managed the irrigation system. During the reign of Abdallah Ibn Tahir (830-844 A.D.) measures were taken for legal regulation of the use of irrigation channels.

However, separate facts do not give the basis for a comparative analysis of the level of development of irrigated agriculture of the two mentioned periods and for ascertaining the progress, which undoubtedly took place in the 9th-10th centuries. It is hoped that a wide development of archaeological works on history of irrigation and intensive research of the legal documents will enable to date the construction and large repairs of many canals. For the time being we are obliged to limit ourselves to the stated characteristics of irrigated economy in Central Asia and Khorasan in the 9th-10th centuries on the basis of written information meticulously collected by V.V. Bart'old for the entire Central Asia and replenished by the observations by other scholars on separate regions.

Two largest rivers of Central Asia: — Amu Daria (except the lower parts in the Khwarezm oasis) and the Syr Daria — were almost not used directly as a source of irrigation: the canals were mainly taken out from their tributaries. The large territories of irrigated land were situated in the valleys of northern tributaries of Amu Daria and Pyanj (Surhan, Kafirnigan, Vakhsh, etc.). Makdisi informs that the water of Surhan river was used in such a big

33. For data in written sources about irrigation in Central Asia of 9th-10th centuries. See, Moscow: Zhukovskii V.A., 1894 pp. 12-13; Bartold V.V. 1965a, pp. 99-100; Gulyamov Ya.G., 1957, pp. 95-97, etc.

quantity for irrigation that sometimes it did not reach Amu Daria. Lower down the flow of Amu Daria, between Termez and Amul, the sources mention only small scattered oasis near the cities intersected by canals from the Amu Daria itself. In general, according to Istakhri the entire benefit from the waters of Amu, Daria went to Khwarezm.

The waters of Syr Daria were used even less for irrigation. The fertile lands of Fargana were fed by its tributaries. Here also some of the tributaries were entirely used for irrigation and did not reach Syr Daria. Arab geographers describe in detail the water supply of cities and settlements of Fargana, everytime mentioning the canals and ponds and the abundance of gardens. But the most flourishing localities in the basin of Syr Darya, in the 10th century, were considered the valleys of rivers Ilak (Angren) and Parak (Chirchik). Nowhere in Maverannahr there were many cities and settlements on a small territory. It was here that in the first half of the 9th century a new canal was constructed.

The system of irrigation in the basin of Zeravshan was so developed and perfect, even in Pre-Arab times, that subsequently it was not subjected to radical changes. It was enough to maintain the functional canals, to restore the temporarily neglected ones, sometimes to change their heads because of their deepening, etc. During restoration of canals, often their names were changed.

The basis of the irrigation system of Zeravshan, in the 10th century, as earlier, was the dam near Varagser. From here three main canals originated which irrigated the entire territory to the south of Samarkand. Three northern canals originated from the other side of Zeravshan — opposite Varagser. In fertility the region of Samarkand was considered unique. One of the Arab vice-regents in 720-721 A.D. prohibited his army to pursue the enemy in Sogd, in order not to harm "the garden of Amir of the Faithful", i.e., the Caliph. The same type of numerous big canals supplied water to the region of Bukhara.

One cannot but mention the irrigation system in the basin of Murghab which was extremely perfect for those times. The number of people serving the different constructions of this complex who were managing distribution of water, etc. was reportedly ten thousand.

Artificial irrigation through surface canals drawn from rivers was the basis of irrigation in Central Asia and Khorasan. But other means were also used. In many places *Karizs* (underground canals) were also dug out only if the relief of the locality did not allow to bring water by surface means. The high-lying lands were irrigated by *chigirs-dulabs*; which were operated sometimes by camels. In the foothills waters of spring rivulets were preserved with the help of dams for use in summer.

It needs to be added that unirrigated lands were also used for cultivation quite widely. Even in the regions of highly developed irrigated cultivation, for example, in the basins of the Murghab and Zeravshan, there were large tracts of unirrigated land which yielded crops enough to meet the requirements of an entire city and district.

In some cases increase in the size of unirrigated cultivation was due to the inadequacy of water for irrigation. Such was the case, for example, in the lower part of the river Harirud as a result of which cattle-breeding was prevalent there. In those places, where the river water was inadequate for irrigation of orchards and fields particularly in summer, water from wells was used.

The 9th-10th centuries sources describe in detail the state of agriculture in different districts and regions and often note the peculiarities of one or the other locality. As earlier, cereal cultivation stood in the first place. Cotton cultivation was highly developed. In this respect Central Asia had a special place in the entire Near and Middle East. It is not accidental that from Central Asia to the other regions and districts of the Arab Caliphate, textile was exported in a large quantity. Cotton was cultivated in a large quantity in the region of Merv (the sources note the high quality of this cotton served a sort of standard of its kind), around Samarkand and Bukhara and in the region of Chach and other places. Large areas, particularly around cities were occupied by orchards, vineyards and fields for growing melons and vegetables. Some of the varieties of fruits, grapes and melons were famous far beyond the frontiers of the Samanid state. In certain areas such rare technical crops, as madder and saffron, etc. were cultivated.

The cultivators obviously had cattle also. Nice pastures are mentioned even around large cities. But cattle-breeding was also developed as a specialised occupation. It was particularly prevalent in the economy of the steppe and mountainous regions. However, it must be stated that cattle-breeding did not fully meet the requirements of the population and that is why trade contacts with nomad-cattle breeders, residing towards the north-east of the borders of the Samanid state, had a big importance.

Mining and Metallurgy

The mining industry continued to develop. In Fargana were extracted iron ore, tin, silver, mercury, copper, zinc as well as tar, asbestos, turquoise and ammonium chloride, in Karamazar in the Khojent region, silver extraction increased; these deposits were called *Kuhi-sim* ("the silver mountain"). Arab geographer, Ibn Khaukal, writes that in Ustrushan, near the city of Marsmanda and in Mink, iron ore was extracted. The ore of these mines not only met the demand of Fargana but was also exported to Khorasan and Iraq.³⁴ In a geographical work *Khudud al Alam* ("the Limits of the World") it is written that in Marsmanda every year fairs were organised, from where the products of iron ore extracted were supplied to other parts in the neighbourhood.³⁵ Arab writer Al Istakhri, mentioning the existence in Asbara (Isfara) of big coal mines writes that "there is a mountain of black stones there which burns like coal".³⁶ The same author notes that in the 10th century, in Central Asia, in military affairs oil was widely used: during siege of the cities fire-bombs filled with oil were used. As centres of mining industry, regions along the upper stream of Zeravshan were distinguished for extraction of iron ore, gold, silver and vitriol and the regions of Darwaza, Rushan, Shugnan and Badakhshan were known for silver and gold mines, rubies and lazurites. In Hajistan (present village "Solprom" of Asht district)

34. Ibn Khaukal, BGA, p. 384.

35. *Khudud al Alam*, 1930, L. 23 b.

36. Istakhri, BGA, I, p. 334.

the best salt was produced which was supplied to the population of Chach, Khojent and other places.³⁷

The entire territory of Central Asia was investigated in detail. In this, no natural hardships came in the way. Extraction of iron ore took place even in the Eastern Pamir in the range of Bazar-Dara. Here there was a large iron ore trading village: perhaps this is mentioned in the written sources as the village of Samarkandak. From written documents found here it is proved that in medieval as well as in ancient times the Eastern Pamir was inhabited by the Central Asian peoples.

Thanks to the archaeological and geological works, a clearly real picture of the state of the mining industry in the 9th-10th century is appearing. The great experience acquired at that time by the Tajik specialists, practical knowledge of many searching methods which helped them achieve success in highly complicated cases of exploration of the mining places, evokes the astonishment of modern geologists. Depending on the character of the mines small or large extraction work was planned. Sometimes extractions were of colossal size. Such were the mines of Kani Mansur, Kani Gut and several others. For extraction of ores shafts were constructed — vertical or reclining, galleries, cells and open quarries, etc. Extractions were sometimes quite deep. In Tajikistan there are mines over 150 metres deep. For carrying out extractions "fire method" was widely used. Near the wall of the coal-face a bonfire was burnt for a long time and when its flames made it red hot water was poured on it. As a result of this, particularly after several repetitions, the coal rock started cracking and it was easier to extract it. Depending on the firmness of the rock one or the other types of instruments were used — iron wedges, picks with or without a handle, hacks, spades and mattocks; hammers and sledge-hammers, stone-hammers, and also wooden wedges are well-known.

37. Information from written sources about extraction of minerals in Central Asia is collected in the works of V.V. Bart'old (especially in the historical and geographical chapter in "Turkistan in the Epoch of Mongol Invasion") and M.E. Masson (1934b; 1947; 1953). See also Belinitskii A.M., 1953a.

The ore miners of medieval times, trying to minimise their labour chose only as much of the dirt surrounding the lode as was required to proceed further. As a result these shafts, galleries, etc. do not have the regular form. In some places one can only crawl. At the same time extremely meticulous work can be noticed — the ore has been fully extracted.

In most of the cases mine working was not propped up. However, ancient props have been discovered. Timber props, for example, were used in the ore mines of the Kani Mansur group which functioned in the 9th-10th centuries. Absence of the timber props in many mines was not an indication of technical backwardness of the ore miners of that time but a result of socio-economic conditions of the epoch: life in those days was valued so little that the props were constructed only in those cases when further work was impossible without it. For the technical level the other thing is indicative: even in those times of the "elastic" props were used which contemporary technology recommends in some cases in order to avoid the destructive influence of the initial pressure of the rocks.

Light was provided by the flame of the lamps-*chirags*. Ventilation was ensured by several methods. Natural ventilation was used more frequently: the phenomenon of natural traction of air in the underground works which was for the first time explained by M.V. Lomonosov was well-known to medieval Tajik ore extractors. Different methods for strengthening of natural traction of air were used as, for example, installation of shields for reflection of air downwards when the winds were blowing. Perhaps even in those times artificial ventilation was also used.

Draining of water was also practised. Here 1500-year old experience of building of underground channels was used — water was diverted through underground galleries.

Broken rocks were taken up in the baskets and leather sacks. In passages sometimes with sharp bends steps were made. In vertical shafts logs with crafted steps or real stairs were put. During the last years equipment consisting of horizontal rollers to lift weight has been discovered. In one of the mines in Kani Mansur, a drum of complex timber lifting equipment was found; at the end of the rope there was a hook to fasten the basket or sack.

On the surface the final sorting out of the ore was done, thereafter it was crushed into small pieces for which various complicated methods existed. It was crushed and washed thoroughly. Only after this melting would start. There existed large ore melting centres, for example, in the region of ancient mines of Kanjola.

The level of metallurgical knowledge and methods was quite high. A comparison of written sources, the remnants of the smelting furnaces, an analysis of slag and metallic articles shows that such complicated metallurgical process as smelting of sulphide copper ores and extraction of silver through various methods were fully mastered.³⁸

Production of Glass and Ceramics

During study of the medieval cities and settlements, directly on the surface and during archaeological works, in the cultural strata, in the buildings and rubbish heaps, one comes across a large quantity of "pre-Mongol" glass pieces dating back to 9th-11th centuries. A lot of such glass pieces, from different parts of Central Asia, can be found in the museums of the USSR.

Notwithstanding the existence of a considerably large number of articles and research monographs,³⁹ the stages of development of glass production in Central Asia, from 9th to 18th centuries, have not been studied chronologically. Discovery of complex glass articles, even during the excavations, are dated very generally, for example, 10th-12th centuries, 10th-11th centuries. That is why they cannot be used to a full extent for characterising of the condition and peculiarities of glass production in the 9th-10th centuries. Undoubtedly in all large and even middle-sized cities from the 9th-10th centuries glass articles were produced and used but they have not been demarcated clearly from the general mass of glass articles of the 9th-12th centuries.

38. Litvinskii B.A., 1950a, 1952a, 1954b, 1956a; Litvinskii B.A. and Islamov O.I. 1953; Islamov O.I., 1955; Bubnova M.A., 1961; Bubnova M.A., 1962; Buryakov E.F., 1965.

39. Abdurazakov A.A. and others 1963; Abdurazakov A.A., Bezborodov M.A., 1966.

At several places glass articles discovered by archaeologists were undoubtedly made in the 9th-10th centuries: the settlement of Kuldortepe (in the region of Samarkand),⁴⁰ on the territory of the medieval town of Nisa⁴¹, in the residential area of the 10th century on the territory of medieval town Varakhsha⁴², etc.

Among the glass pieces from these places, household and cosmetic vessels are also found. The favourite forms were different goblets with high stems, wide and narrow-necked jugs with or without handles, bowls of different shapes, mugs with loop form handles, narrow-necked pear-shaped perfume bottles, sometimes with two small handles, small vessels in the form of test tubes, etc.

Vessels were often made of colourless glass but there are also articles made from multi-coloured glasses. Multi-coloured glass was also used for decoration of crockery.

In the 9th-10th centuries, the master glass blowers of the medieval times were very skillful in using different technical methods of making thin vessels by the method of blowing. The glass blowers used the method of blowing also for the decoration of the crockery: in such cases vessels were blown with relief ornaments inside.

Repetition of the forms of kitchen wares in complexes of glass from different places, absence of decoration on most of the articles or else, the use of such forms of decoration as did not demand extra work, rareness of such "individual" methods of vessel decoration as engraving, etc., — all this is indicative of the fact that the production of household glass wares in the 9th-10th centuries was already on a mass scale intended for wide consumption. In this context it may be noted that some forms of glass wares were clear imitation of the ceramic forms of the 9th-10th centuries which indicates that the process of standardisation of the kitchen wares had gone deep even in cases when these articles were made of different materials.

40. Staviskii B. Ya., 1960.

41. Davidovich E.A., 1949

42. Kabanov S.K., 1956.

It is necessary to observe that, in the 9th-10th centuries in Central Asia, window glass was made and used. The available fragments (for example from Nisa, from the settlement of Afrasiab — pre-Mongol Samarkand) are made from colourless glass by the same technique of blowing as kitchen glass vessels. Having improved this technique the Central Asia glass blowers learnt to make flat discs; the fault of which was thickening in the centre. But this fault was not of such importance as these flat discs were cut into figured pieces which were inserted into alabaster window grills.

The discoveries of glass articles are not connected with construction of palace buildings or other monumental structures. Obviously, they were used in residential houses of well-to-do city dwellers. It was quite a progressive invention which considerably improved the living conditions of that period.

The ceramic production in Central Asia of the 9th-10th centuries has been studied completely and from many sides,⁴³ although there are no general works yet. Large scale archaeological works resulted in the discovery of entire localities of ceramic makers, many different types of pottery furnaces, workshops of craftsmen with a variety of instruments and semi-produced articles and spoiled articles etc. All this gave an opportunity to recreate the picture of the technique of pottery craft of the 9th-10th centuries starting from the moment of procuring the clay until the production of the ready-made articles. The ceramic production of the 9th-10th centuries has also been studied from the other technological angle. It has been established as to which kind of clay was used for the production of vessels, how and by which methods it was made, which kind of colours were used for decoration, what was the composition of the glaze and many such other things.

In the 9th-10th centuries different types of vessels were produced. From large *Khums* for keeping reserve stocks of the toy-like cups and saucers. The highest achievement of the

43. Akhrarov I., 1966; Bolshakov O.G., 1958, 1963, 1966; Vakturskaya N.N., 1959; Lunina S.B., 1962, Saiko E.B., 1963; Tashkhojaev Sh. S., 1967 and others.



Glazed Bowl 9th-10th Centuries, Samarkand

craft of pottery, at this time, was glazed ceramics. It was in great demand and was produced in correspondingly large quantity.

The ceramic makers of the 9th-10th centuries could produce different types of glazes. They also used alkaline glazes, however, more high quality zinc glazes were prevalent. Zinc glazes were transparent, which gave a wide opportunity to decorate vessels under glazed paintings. Adding a certain amount of tin, the ceramic makers made non-transparent glazes, mostly of green or brown colour. In the 9th-10th centuries the ceramic covered with transparent glaze and under glaze paintings was of different varieties. Its production demanded large skill and art. The vessel was made on the legged pottery wheel. Afterwards its surface was prepared for the paintings. With this purpose the vessel was covered with *angob*, watery clay of special quality and making, which was often coloured. It covered the pores of the vessel and created even polished single colour background for painting. Thereafter the vessel was dried and painted with colours and burnt. Only after this it was covered with glaze and burnt for the second time. For the making of such vessels and for preserving the

clearness of the drawing and its gamut of colours, a deep and skillful knowledge of interaction of the entire components during the double baking was required.

Among the vessels, with glazed paintings in the 9th-10th centuries, bowls of different sizes and dishes were prevalent. Their forms were standardised. They varied in details and were differentiated from each other mainly by their size. Apart from these forms, jugs, lamps and some other articles in the same technique were made.

One of the favourite methods of decoration of these vessels were inscriptions. The inscriptions were made on the edges of the bowls and on their bottom; these can be seen also on jugs and lamps. The handwriting is very refined and standardised. The contents were different. Sometimes it was an expression of good wishes for the owner: "blessings and well-being to the owner of this", "blessings", "well being", "eat for your health", etc. In other cases just a maxim was made: "learning is initially bitter in taste but the end of it is sweeter than honey", "large-heartedness is the quality of the righteous one", "large-heartedness is the guard of the honour and property", etc.

Very often such vessels were decorated with floral and geometrical designs, even the depictions of living creatures can be seen particularly of the birds.

Completely of different type is the so-called marble-like ceramics. Here different colours are put in such a way that they do not form a certain picture. The main thing is colour, its variations, patches and tones.

As an additional method of decoration of marble-like ceramic and also of ceramic with non-transparent glaze scratched contour, drawings were used which were covered with glaze. They were distinguished by the thick plaits on the whole background. These "engraved" drawings were made by skillful and firm hands. Here we see again the geometrical and floral ornaments, depictions of birds, etc.

Ceramic production of the 9th-10th centuries is an undoubted testimony to the development of productivity of labour in the handicrafts of the period, of the successful mastery of many processes, improvement of the components of glaze, inventiveness

in decorating the vessels simultaneously with increase in the scale of its production.

Other Forms of Handicraft Production

Other crafts and their production cannot be characterised as thoroughly as glass-making and ceramic production. Here we should mainly depend on written sources which inform that in the 9th-10th centuries most different productions were developed and products of many crafts were of very high quality and were famous far beyond the borders of Central Asia. It is not accidental that Istahri observed that the inhabitants of Maverannahr did not need the products of other countries as they themselves made everything needed by them.

Weaving was highly developed. It was characterised by large scale of production as well as by varieties of types of textiles and by their high quality. Fabric was made from silk, cotton and flax. Central Asia was the home of many kinds of beautiful textiles. Some kinds of foreign textiles were also assimilated by Central Asian masters.

Among the local kinds of textiles one of the leading places belonged to *vedari* cotton fabric. Its name was derived from the settlement *Vedar*, located not far away from Samarkand. But this fabric was produced in many other places of Central Asia as well. It was in great demand, not only in Central Asia but also beyond its borders. In the words of Ibn Haukal it was "worn in full pieces without being cut; and in Khorasan there was no Amir, no Vazir, no Kazi, no rich person, no common man, no warrior who was not clad in *vedari* fabric over those clothes which were worn in winter; they considered it the sign of elegance and smartness because the colour of the fabric is close to yellow and they have softness and pleasantness; these fabrics were thick and tender and the price of one piece of fabric varied from two to twenty *dinars*; I also wore such fabric for five years. They were in demand in Iraq (Babylonia) exported there and people were proud to wear them."⁴⁴

44. Ibn Haukal, B.G.A. II, p. 403, For Russian translation see Barto'ld V.V., 1965, p. 441.

The red, green and white fabrics were very famous — specialised production of special workshops were situated near the Bukhara citadel. The settlement of Zandan, near Bukhara, gave the name to the beautiful fabric *Zandanichi* which was produced in many places and widely exported. Once upon a time *Zandanichi* fabric was silken. The fabric of *Zandanichi* from an earlier period is preserved in several museums of the world. On the back side of one of the fragments there is a Sogdian inscription (mark in black ink, the size and name of the fabric). The technique, colours and drawings of *Zandanichi* of the 7th-8th centuries have been studied.⁴⁵ What this fabric was like in the 9th-10th centuries is not yet quite clear, although it is assumed that not later than the end of the 10th century it was made from cotton. Narshahi also testifies to this.⁴⁶

The sources also mention several other kinds of fabrics (linen, silken, brocade type, etc.). The fabrics from Merv occupied a prominent place.⁴⁷ Merv fabrics, particularly silken, were even imitated in other places and they were widely exported.

Some fragments of Central Asian fabrics of 9th-10th centuries are preserved even today. In the medieval sepulchres of Egypt, among the ancient fabrics preserved there, several fragments of linen fabrics of Merv production of the 9th century were discovered. There are inscriptions on these fragments and on one of them there is also an ornamentation.

The fragment of the fabric from the middle of the 10th century with the name of its owner, one of the Samanid military commanders is very interesting. In the centre two elephants are depicted and between the legs of each of them there are small winged griffins. On the border there are several ornamental stripes between which there are inscriptions and moving camels. The entire theme and details of ornamentation repeat in a modified way of the themes and ornamentations of an earlier period.⁴⁸

45. Belenitskii A.M., Bentovich I.B., pp. 61-78.

46. Narshahi, Tehran edition, p. 17.

47. Krachkovskaya V.A., 1949, p. 4, 1958 p. 615.

48. For a general research on the history of weaving in the "Muslim" East see, Serjeant R., 1946, Vol. IX-XVI (about the fabrics of Khorasan and Central Asia, vol. IX-XII).

The production of different articles made from metal occupied a leading place. Some of them met the local needs while others acquired a wider market. Makdisi mentions Bukharan copper lamps, tin vessels from Rebinjan, Samarkand copper cauldrons and stir ups, Chach scissors and needles, the swords and weapons from Fargana and Isfijab, etc. The weapons of Fargana were so famous that they were exported to many countries as far as upto Baghdad.

On the instructions of Caliph Harun ar Rashid (786-809 A.D.), only paper was to be used for writing. Consequently, papyrus and other material for writing went out of use. During a long period the only supplier of paper for the countries of the Arab Caliphate was Samarkand (second half of 8th-beginning of 10th century). The workshops of this city produced rag paper which was called Samarkandi (sometimes Khorasani). The names of six types of this paper are known. In the 10th century the method of production of paper became known beyond the borders of Central Asia — in the west upto Syria. However, even in the 10th century Samarkand remained the main supplier of paper. Al-Khwarezmi jokingly remarked, "one of his friends does not write to him because he lives far away from Samarkand and hence paper for him is very expensive."⁴⁹

In many places the processing of leather and wool was done and different woolen and leather products were made.

There is no need to name the other types of crafts. Not all of them are mentioned in the sources. Did the corporate organisations of craftsmen exist? There are no direct indications in the sources on this subject.⁵⁰ However, indirect, including historico-topographical indications, make it possible to think so.

It is important to stress that the evidence of written sources about export of many types of handicraft products and those samples of handicraft of the 9th-10th centuries (ceramic, glass, textiles), which are known to testify to us the large scale pottery production at this time and to such a level of development of productive forces which ensured a high quality of not only the luxury goods but also of goods of common consumption.

49. Grohmann A., 1954, pp. 74-76; Mets A., 1966, pp. 363-364.

50. Lewiss B., 1937; Spuler B., 1952, p. 398.

Building and architecture

In the written sources there are numerous informations about the buildings of the 9th-10th centuries but only a few of them have been preserved till our times.⁵¹

Palaces and castles, caravan — sarais, trading complexes, mosques, madrassas and mausoleums were built. Mainly constructions were made from earth: mud blocks and raw bricks. Timber occupied a considerable place in construction: wooden columns and flat roofs were typical of the 9th-10th centuries. Baked bricks in these raw wooden construction occupied a secondary place. Monumental constructions, entirely made from baked bricks, appeared in this period. It was a new, important and progressive achievement of this epoch.

Among the different categories of monumental structures of the 9th-10th centuries, mausoleums are the best studied ones. Now there exist four well-known mausoleums: The mausoleum of the Samanids in Bukhara, the mausoleum of Arab-Ata in Tima, the mausoleum of Mir-sa'id Bahrom in Kermin, and the mausoleum of Ak-Astana Baba near Uzun.

The mausoleum of the Samanids is generally recognised as the masterpiece of medieval Central Asian architecture. Its composition is simple — cube-like form with a dome at the top. The structure is not large but it creates an impression of massiveness. At the same time the harmonious blending of parts marked by decorative finishing make the monument elegant and light.

All the facades are designed alike. At the top of the mausoleum there is a continuous arch gallery. The walls below the gallery are divided by three vertical lines: the corners of the structure are in the shape of massive attached columns; at the centre there are arched entrances contained in rectangular frames. The entrances have confined their own divisions: they are made in

51. A large literature is devoted to th architectural monuments of this period. See, for example: Bulatov M.S., 1953, 1962; Voronina V.L. 1954, 1950; Benike B.P., 1959; Litvinskii B.A., 1953, Nilsen V.A., 1950; Pisarchik A.K., 1944; Pugachenkova G.A., 1960, 1963b; Pugachenkova G.A. and Rempel L.E., 1965 and others.

the shape of perspectively decreasing arches resting on the corner columns, which increases the impression about their depth.

Inside, the passage from the square room towards the dome, is made with the help of complicated arched sails, thrown over the corners, thus changing the square into octahedron. On the whole, the inside division corresponds to the outside one: the even surface of the walls cut by the arched entrances is contained in rectangular frames; the horizontal girdle consisting of eight arches form the dome. The girdle of arched sails from inside and arched gallery from outside corresponds to the narrow passage inside the walls covering the whole mausoleum at this height.

The basic material for decoration is the same; namely, construction bricks. The main method of ornamentation are different types of design lay outs. The ornamentation is strict and at the same time extremely varied.

Almost all the methods of construction, planning, details of construction and its decorations are analogous to the earlier architecture of Sogd; it looks as if the mausoleum of the Samanids has absorbed in itself all the achievements of the architecture of the previous times and summed it up. At the same time the use of baked bricks, as the main construction and decorative material, opened before the architects new possibilities which were used in a masterly way.

The mausoleum of the Samanids was built at the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century and the mausoleum of Arab-Ata in 977/978 A.D. (the date is given in the inscription on it). They are separated by approximately three-fourth of a century. The search of the architectural concept led to the creation of a principally new type of mausoleum — portal domed.

The mausoleum of Arab-Ata is cube covered by a dome but its entrance is from one side and it is designed in the form of monumental portal which is raised higher than the walls and covers a considerable part of the dome. The portal is flanked at the corners by cut abutments which give it the look of smartness and massiveness. Above the lancet entrance bay, there is a decorative arch. Inside, the division is a three-fold (the surface of the walls; the girdle of sails, forming the passage leading from the square to the

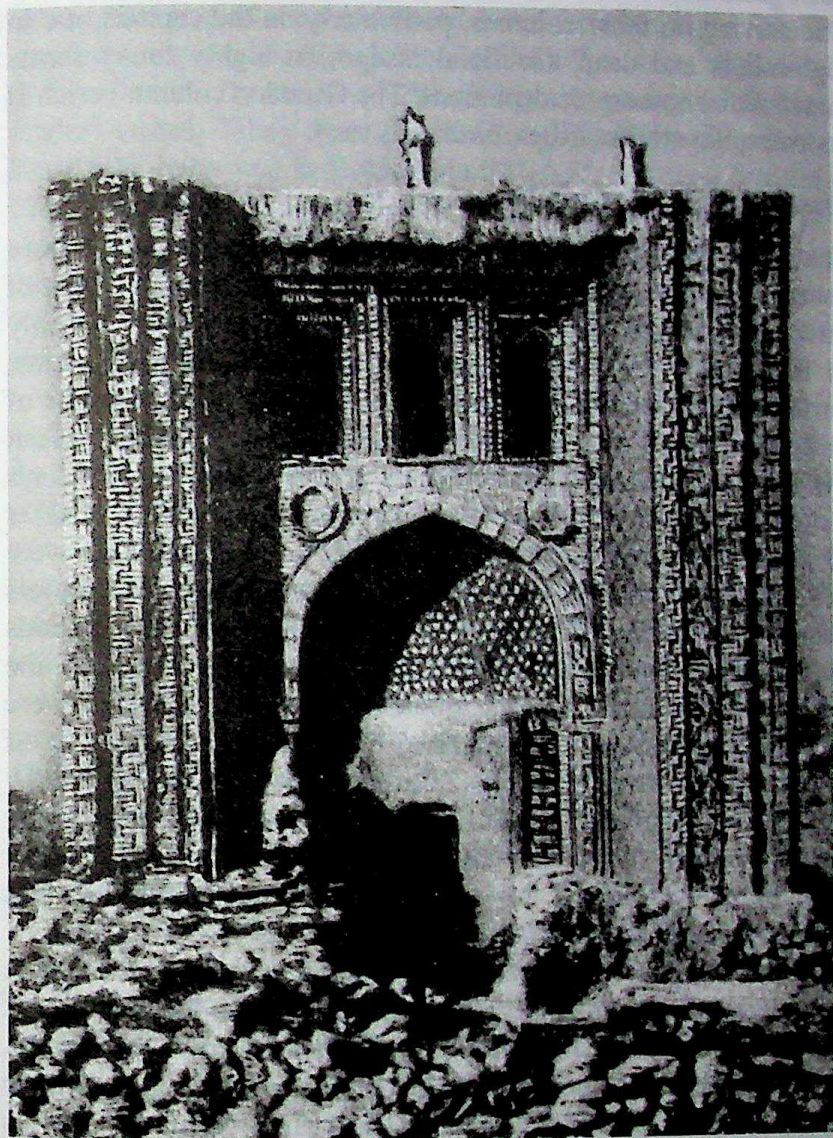
octahedron and the dome). But the system of sails is diverse consisting of two tiers. In the decoration of the mausoleum structure different materials and methods are used. Here are designed brick lay out and ornaments cut in *ganch*, inscription in the background of floral drawings and designs made from trimmed and polished bricks. In some constructions and decorative details one can see the link with the Sogdian architecture but these traits are more visible, which in complete and developed form and are represented in the monuments of 11th-12th centuries.

An analysis of the proportions of these two monuments shows that they were constructed according to a previously worked out project, all sizes correspond to each other as the side of the square corresponds to its diagonal. This mathematical regularity, talentedly executed in real structures, was the basis of harmony and perfection of the mausoleum of Arab-Ata and particularly the mausoleum of the Samanids.

In this period the feudal estates are changing. Not defence but the comfort of residential premises comes to the forefront. There is no more the old inaccessible prowess and isolation of the outer fortress walls. On all sides there are unsecured entrances, the surface of the walls is cut by windows, in corner towers there are no loopholes.

In the Afrasiab settlement were discovered the remnants of the palace of the Samanids which was also built mainly from the raw bricks. In one of the halls of the palace are preserved the decorative finishes: panel and frieze made from cut plaster (frieze is coloured), remnants of the paintings. The panel is further divided into small rectangular panels, each one of them includes large geometrical designs inside which there is a small stylish floral ornament. The cut plaster of the Samanid palace testifies to big skills, inventiveness and fantasy of the cutters on alabaster.

Magnificent are the samples of carved wood from the Samanid period: *mehrab* from Iskodar, wooden columns from the upper Zeravshan. The Iskodar *mehrab*, which was skillfully assembled without glue and nails, is entirely covered by carvings: here are the lines of Kufi inscriptions, the large geometrical designs and the thinnest net of unending stylish floral ornaments.



**Mausoleum of Arab-Ata in Tima
977/978 A.D.**

The columns from the villages of Kurut, Oburdon, Fatmev are made in strict proportions. They have still preserved the traditions of Sogdian architecture, but there are many new elements in them. The carving on these columns, particularly on the capitals, are in high-reliefs and deep; the floral designs in highly funny forms match with zoomorphic depictions. The Oburdon column is rich in zoomorphic motifs (fishes, birdheads etc.).

Trade and Money Circulation

The large cities of Central Asia of the 9th-10th centuries were centres of intra-regional, inter-regional and some of them even of international trade. However, lively trade was conducted not only in these trade and craft centres but also in many settlements, particularly in the case of these settlements where some kinds of crafts developed. In this connection the account of Narshahi about the settlement situated near Bukhara is interesting. Market days were held here once in a week and on those days a large number of people collected there. In some settlements annual fairs were also held, which lasted from 10 to 20 days. In these fairs traders came from various far-flung regions. The visitors purchased goods not only for themselves but mainly for re-sale as some of the products of the crafts of the settlements, particularly fabrics, were in demand even beyond the borders of Central Asia. Big traders of the settlements themselves conducted large trade transactions.⁵²

The coins of that period, the developed money-commodity economy and concrete historical specification of money circulation testify about the conditions and level of development and some peculiarities of domestic trade.⁵³

Gold coins (*dinars*) were minted during Samanid period in a considerably large quantity, but mostly beyond the borders of Central Asia. Central Asian mints issued *dinars* only occasionally. But the main fact was that the gold *dinars*, according to reliable sources, were used as commodity, i.e., they circulated not as monetary units but by their weight. This testimony of the sources confirms the real weight of the *dinars* themselves: its variations

52. Narshahi, Tehran edition p. 13 onwards.

53. Davidovich E.A., 1966, pp. 103-134.

were such that circulation as monetary unit is excluded. However, gold coins in the later centuries, for example, in the 11th-13th centuries were also accepted by weight and not as monetary unit. But in this period they circulated in real trade. In the 9th-10th centuries they practically did not fulfil the functions of the mode of circulation. By the way, describing the money of Bukhara, Istahiri writes, "They donot trade among themselves by *dinars*." Ibn Fadlan who was in Bukhara in 921 A.D. and took interest in Bukharan money and described it in detail, does not mention gold *dinars* at all. Above all, the gold *dinars* performed the function of treasure and they preferred to store them. At the level of prices and scale of the trade of that period, even in large deals, the silver coins, *dirhams*, were used.

In the 9th-10th centuries in the states of the Tahirids and the Samanids different types of *dirhams* were minted. Each type had its name and purpose. In the 9th and particularly in the 10th century the minting of the state silver *dirhams* became a regular affair. On these *dirhams* there are no depictions. Only there are inscriptions in Arab script *Kufi*. In the 10th century these coins came to be called "Ismaili" after the name of Ismail Samanid. It is interesting that on the territory of Central Asia one can see only a few of Ismaili *dirhams* whereas in Eastern Europe and the Baltic region hundreds of hordes of Ismaili *dirhams* have been found. Thus they performed the function of international money in the first place, although in the domestic economic life they also played a certain role. Their weight and standard was in full accord with this. Initially their standard was very high and weight very accurate and as such their circulation in the state could be and was as monetary unit. When it became clear that after all the main mass of these coins flowed abroad and beyond the borders of the state, as it is known, the coins go by their weight, the Samanid government decided to decrease their standard of minting. In fact, hardly three decades had gone by that the weight of the Ismaili *dirhams* changed and weight fluctuations became considerably high. In the same manner their standard had also changed. Such coins could not circulate as separate monetary units and this was an indirect important indication of the fact that the role of Ismaili

dirhams in internal trade had decreased. Perhaps only in rare cases they served in the internal state markets as was the case with gold.

The main means of circulation in Central Asia, in the 9th-10th centuries, were *dirhams* called in the sources as Khwarezmian, Museiyabi, Muhammadi and Gitrifi. Particularly interesting are the last three types. On them contrary to the Ismaili *dirhams* Arab inscriptions occupy very small place. Main thing is the depictions: the bust of the ruler on one side, holy alter with fire and guards on the other. It is nothing else but the schematic repetition of the depictions on the Sasanid coins of one of the rulers of the 5th century A.D. The main peculiarity of the economy of this period was the fact that the taxes were calculated only in this type of coins with depictions, but each region paid taxes not in any coins but only in certain type of coins. For example, the Chach region with its ore mines and the Khojent city paid the tax only in high standard *dirhams* Museiyabi, Sogd with its centre in Samarkand and Fargana paid in Muhammadi *dirhams*; Bukhara only in Gitrifi *dirhams*, etc. The region of Ulstrushan paid 48 thousand *dirhams* in Muhammadi and 2 thousand *dirhams* in Museiyabi.

Obviously these three types of *dirhams* were different from each other substantially, otherwise every region could have paid the fixed amount of tax in any type of these *dirhams*. There are two views on this question: the first one is that these *dirhams* with the depictions differed on the basis of Arab inscriptions.⁵⁴ The second view is that they differed in metal.⁵⁵ The second view finds its confirmation in the sources. Museiyabi were of high standard silver. It is not for nothing that Ibn Haukal noted that Museiyabi are "from their treasure". About the "Muhammadi" *dirhams* Istahri writes that they were minted from iron, copper, silver and other metals, that is, they were of a low standard silver and "Gitrifi" were minted from bronze. Accordingly their purchasing power also differed: one could buy more commodities with "Museiyabi" *dirhams* and less with the Gitrifi *dirhams*. However, one of the peculiarities of the money economy of the 9th-10th

54. Markoff A., 1891; Lerh P.I., 1909; Walker J., 1941; Masson M.E. 1965a and others

55. Davidovich E., 1966.

centuries was the fact that all the three types of these coins were higher in exchange value than the silver *dirhams* — Ismaili. That is in the bronze Gitrifi *dirhams* one could buy more things than in the Ismaili *dirhams*.

For small trade copper coins — *fels* — were used. They circulated in certain ratio with the silver coins. For example in the year 921 in Bukhara, one silver *dirham* was equal to 24 copper *fels*. The copper coins were meant for intra-regional circulation but in practice they circulated beyond the borders of the region although there they carried lower exchange value. For example, in the year 921 in Bukhara one could buy with Samarkand copper coins only two-thirds of the commodities which could be bought with the local Bukhara *fels*.

The peculiarities of the circulation of *dirhams* Museiyabi, Muhammadi, Gitrifi and copper coins are an indication that even in the 10th century, in the confines of a considerably centralised Samanid state, Central Asia, economically no one was a single united entity in the economic regions with their markets were clearly demarcated. These regional markets, notwithstanding the growing trade links, preserved some kind of isolation to the extent of special composition of coinage. Government was compelled to take into account these peculiarities and traditions.

The trade of Maverannahr with the East and the West, particularly, with the countries of the Near East, and with the nomads of the steppe on its north-eastern borders developed considerably in this period. The assortment of goods which were traded by Maverannahr with other countries also changed. Now the goods meant for personal use of a wide strata of population and for the need of crafts were traded more and more. The caravan route, between the Near East and China, passed through Mavrennahr. This route started from the coastal Mediterranean countries, passing through Baghdad, Hamdan, Nisapur, Merv, Amul to Bukhara and from there through Samarkand, Chach, Taraz, Balasagun, Suyab and the southern coast of the Lake Issykul led to Mongolia and China.

The caravans were sometimes very large. For example, Ibn Fadlan who as secretary participated in the mission of Caliph Muktaadir to the Kingdom of the Volga Bulgars confirms that the

caravan of the ambassador consisted of five thousand people and three thousand horses without counting the camels.⁵⁶ However, the usual trade caravans were small in size. In caravans travelled not only traders but also craftsmen, masters, scholars, painters and travellers. Ambassadors also travelled with them. In such cases the caravans were very large and were escorted by armed detachments.

The trade of Mavrennahr and Khorasan with the Bulgar kingdom was highly developed.⁵⁷ Ibn Fadlan described in detail the trade route linking Central Asia and the South East Europe. Earlier the trade route from Baghdad and Iran to the Bulgar Kingdom passed through Caucasia and the Hazar Kingdom. But in the beginning of the 10th century, that is during the rule of Caliph Mukhtadir, the relations between the Baghdad Caliph and the Hazar Kingdom worsened and trade routes started passing through Mavrennahr. Ibn Fadlan writes that from Bukhara the trade route went to Amu Daria, then along the Amu Daria to Kyat — the centre of southern Khwarezm, then to Urgench and from there through Emba to the Bulgar kingdom. Thus the trade route skirted the territory of the Hazar Kingdom and went along the left bank of the Volga river. On the way there were guest houses where traders rested. The intensity of the trade links of Central Asia with Russia is indicated by the discovery of large number of Samanid *dirhams* Ismaili found in the different localities of Russia right upto the Baltic Sea.⁵⁸ From the Bulgar Kingdom through Khwarezm there were exported fur, leather, tan (the latter was essential because of the developed leather industry in Central Asia), cattle, slaves, honey, walnuts and several other commodities. From Central Asia to Eastern Europe were exported rice, dryfruits, various fabrics but most of all the silver — *dirhams* Ismaili.

Bukhara — The Capital of the Samanid State

The 8th century was a period of great hardship for the urban population of Maverrannahr. Narshahi, in his "History of

56. Kovalevskii A.P. 1956, p. 128.

57. Yakubovskii A.U., 1932, pp. 12-15.

58. For information about the hordes of Eastern coins in Eastern Europe see Yanin V.L., 1956.

Bukhara", narrates that after the seizure of Bukhara, in 709 A.D., the Arab conquerors not only took away from the local population half of their homes but also cleared for themselves a large part of the city where the representatives of the Arab tribes were lodged.⁵⁹ Most of the Arabs resided near the Kuhandiz gates of Bukharan Shahrستان because this place was considered in Bukhara as the most fortified one.

As a result of widening of trade relations between the Near East and Maverannahr transformation of the cities of Central Asia into cities of developed feudal type was accelerated. Externally this change was taking place in various ways: sometimes the internal structure of Shahrستان changed, in other cases the former Shahrستان lost its importance and outside it developed new centre of crafts and trade.

Bukhara represented the example of the first way of development of a feudal city. Economic and political life more and more concentrated inside Shahrستان of Bukhara. There appeared markets and localities of craftsmen, caravan-sarais were also constructed. According to Narshahi, during the rule of the Tahirids in Bukhara there was a big weaving manufactory where perhaps slave labour was used. The goods manufactured here were exported to the centre of the Caliphate and to the far-flung cities of the Near East. In the premises of the former Shahrستان large houses of nobility appeared and many new buildings came up in which the government bureaucracy was put up. Simultaneously with internal changes in Bukharan Shahrستان there took place, from the beginning of the 8th century, an expansion of the city in three directions. From the south beyond the gates of *Attars* (grocers), markets and *rabats*⁶⁰ appeared; in south-west and south-east directions markets and special localities of craftsmen grew. By the middle of the 9th century Bukhara grew intensively in its territory and in 849-850 A.D. it was surrounded again by a wall which had 11 gates.⁶¹

59. Narshahi, Tehran edition. p. 63 onwards.

60. Guest houses and also border fortresses.

61. Sukhareva O.A., 1954, p. 28 onwards.

The transformation of the *Registan* of Bukhara into a centre of political life of the Samanid state, the construction in the northern part of the city of the Amir's palace and of the houses of the *diwans* considerably changed the face of the city.

Concentration of the economic life in the centre of the city played a big role in the change of Bukhara into a city of the feudal type: in it special streets of different craftsmen appeared who worked and traded in their workshops. That is why in the 10th century the entire central part of the city looked like a market and the city itself completely changed its former looks.

The Institutions of Feudal Grants and Conditional land Ownership

The tenth century was the period of developed feudalism. Samanid state was a feudal state which safeguarded the interests of big landowners and traders. Hence all that was mentioned above, about the growth of economy, development of agriculture, crafts and money transactions does not in the least give the basis to think that this growth was accompanied by improvement in the living conditions of the toiling people.

The main owners of land and water were the state and the big feudals. Accordingly, the most widespread categories of land were state, feudal, "milk" and "wakf". The materials of the preceding period show how intensively the small owners were pauperised and how they "voluntarily" gave away their lands to big feudals.⁶² This process, of course, continued in the 10th century.

Along with the unconditional ownership during the rule of the Samanids there also existed conditional land ownership of feudals based on the land grants for the services rendered. The level of development of the institution by feudal grant for services and of conditional land ownership is one of the most important indicators of the level of feudalisation of society "from above". A point of view was expressed as if during the rule of the Samanids both of

62. In the Arab Caliphate the landowners on the conquered territories were often compelled to give back their own land not in possession but in ownership on some conditions (Lokkegaard F., 1950, pp. 68-70); Lambton A.K.S., 1969, p. 21, 25-26.

these did not play a significant role in the socio-economic life of the society and in the 11th-13th centuries, during the rule of the Karakhanids and Seljukids, it developed quickly.⁶³ Such a viewpoint appeared perhaps under the influence of some notions in the written sources about the fact that during the Samanid rule almost the half of the budget was spent on the salary for the services and also the direct statement in the later source — “Siyasatnama” that in Khorasan during the Samanid rule the *ikta*⁶⁴ was not distributed. The absence of direct records in the sources of the cases of grant for the services in the Samanid state also played its role. Thus appeared the contrast of two periods in the history of Central Asia — the 9th-10th centuries and 11th-12th centuries: the development of the institution of feudal grants was fully linked with the conquest of Central Asia by the Karakhanids and the Seljukids.

The historico-numismatic studies permitted radical revision of this question on the basis of concrete Central Asian material.⁶⁵ They brought out 18 more cases of feudal grants for services not counting those which were already mentioned in literature as Simjurids in Kuhistan and others. Not even in a single case the grantees were the representatives of the grassroot service and military ranks. It is noteworthy that in the 9th century the grants were very large (entire regions, district and cities) were given to the members of the dynasty. In the 10th century, especially in its second half, more grantees were not members of the dynasty but different dignitaries sometimes even not very famous. The sizes of the grants were sometimes very large and sometimes visibly smaller.

The grants in the 9th-10th centuries meant giving to the grantee the right over the whole or part of the revenue from the

63. A. Ju Yakubovskii (1949), pp. 37-38; *op.cit.* in the book: Trever K.B. and others 1950) did not at all mention the institution of feudal grants and conditional landownership in the chapter dedicated to the 9th-10th centuries.

64. About the origin of the institution *ikta* in the medieval East see: Lokkegaard F., 1950, pp. 58; Cahen C., 1953; Lambton A.K.S., 1967, 1969, pp. 28-30, 53.

65. Davidovich E.A., 1954, pp. 69-117; 1960b pp. 254-257.

granted estate, but these grants were neither life-long nor hereditary. Grants were conditioned by service; more often this service was vice-regency in the granted region or city and hence it gave big rights and privileges in the internal affairs. Sometimes the grantees were even given the right to inscribe their names on the coins. In these cases it is particularly apparent that the mutual relations between the central power and the grantees, the level of independence of the latter were different. For example, some copper coins are minted in the name of the head of the dynasty but the name of the grantee — vice-regent is humbly put on the secondary place as the vassal (Samarkand and Chach in the third quarter of the 9th century, Isfijab in the beginning of the 10th century). Often it was the opposite case: the copper coins were minted in the name of the grantee and the head of the Samanid dynasty was mentioned only as honorary suzerain (Fergana cities Akhsiket, Nasrabad and Kuba or else the whole Fargana during the different periods in the 10th century). But one more variant is also known, when on the copper coins there is no mention at all of the name of the head of the dynasty and there are only the names of the grantees (Akhshiket and Chach in the second half of the 9th and beginning of the 10th century). Here there is an attempt to break even the formal relations of vassalage. Such attempts were made according to now known examples only by the members of the dynasty which owned large regions.

The 'grant estates' were often changed into really independent principalities inside the Samanid state. Their owners (be they the members of the dynasty or big dignitaries) often appropriated the same titles of "Amirs" and the "clients of the sovereign of the faithful" which the heads of the Samanid dynasty carried.

During the Samanid period typical feudal relations of "multi-stage" vassalage were formed and developed: it was feudal hierarchy.

Such cases are recorded when the head of the Samanid dynasty granted a city or region to a big dignitary and the latter yielded a part of the rights granted to him to the other person, etc. For Fargana, for example even a "four-stage" vassalage case is known.

It is necessary to note that the grant owners tried to expand their rights and the central power wanted to stall these attempts. A

struggle was waged with intermittent success. For example, it has already been mentioned that *Nasr* ibn Ahmad granted to his brother Ismail a part of *kharaj* of the Bukharan region for service as a vice-regent. But Ismail tried to appropriate all the revenues of the region. His first attempts in this direction were not successful but finally he achieved his goal. It was a defeat of the central power.

In another case the central power won in the struggle. The Fargana region city Kuba and Nasrabad were granted to big dignitaries. The attempts of the grantees to extend their rights ended in taking away of these possessions for ever. Even earlier an attempt was known to convert Akhsiket into a life-long and hereditary estate which was at that time in the possession of the members of the dynasty. In the beginning it succeeded: for many years Akhsiet was possessed by Ishak ibn Ahmad, then his son got the city. Only after the open uprising of Ishak ibn Ahmad who claimed the throne, and his defeat, the central power took away Fargana from his family and granted Akhsiket to another person though with considerably less rights. The region of Kuhistan during the Samanid period was a granted estate for generations of one family — Simjurids.

Thus the institution of feudal grants for service in the socio-economic life of the Samanid state played a considerable role. Even the central and most important regions of the state (Samarkand, Bukhara, Chach, Fargana, etc.) and separate cities during the different periods were the object of grants and were often converted into independent principalities inside the Samanid state.

Some concrete indications of the sources, analogies with western Iran and Iraq, particularly the testimony of Al-Khwarezmi lead us to the conclusion that in Central Asia such types of grants, during the Samanid period, were designated by the terms *ikta* and *tuma*. Al-Khwarezmi was the official of the Samanid Vazir and his work was written between 976-991 A.D. "His task was mainly to compose the directory for the offices which he contemplated in the form of terminology defining dictionary, encompassing a whole gamut of knowledge."⁶⁶ The

66. Krachkovskii I. Iu., 1957, p. 240.

feudal land grants of his times were designated by him in two terms.⁶⁷ *Tuma* (literally “feeding”) — was the life-long grant but from the granted land the rent was also taken — the tax of a particular amount. In other words the grantee, in this case, got the right not to the entire revenue but only to a part of it. *Ikta* was hereditary land grant. The person to whom this land was granted was considered its owner. Although theoretically *ikta* at this and the subsequent times was considered the grant of only land revenue, but in practice, as Al-Khwarezmi testifies, the owner of *ikta* already in the 10th century enjoyed big rights and the *ikta* type grant was converted even into a hereditary one. The different variants of grants, which were brought to light for Central Asia of the 9th-10th centuries mainly on the basis of numismatic data, fully correspond to the essence of the *ikta* and *tuma* grants as they have been described by Al-Khwarezmi.

At the same time one cannot ignore the fact that almost half of the state budget of the Samanids was spent on salaries for troops and state officials. In the Samanid state two trends were visibly contrasting: from one side the institution of feudal land grants was rapidly developing; and from the other, the central power was trying to fight the development of this institution by spending large sums on paying the salaries for service.

From some sources it is evident that harmful consequences of the development of the institution of the feudal land grants for the economy of the country and for the central power itself were fully understood by the contemporaries. If some circumstances created conducive conditions allowing to do away without land grants, the central power tried not to distribute land for maintenance and possession (for example this was the case during the first Gazanvids).

The state of the Samanids in this respect was undergoing a transition period of its kind. The existence of two contradictory trends resulted in the discontinuation of the practice of granting land to the common representatives of services and the military — here the central power still retained its position. So far as the top strata of the ruling class was concerned, the central power was

67. Kadirova T., 1965, pp. 38-42.

compelled to distribute lands widely only trying (not always successfully) to prevent them from becoming hereditary estates. It is beyond doubt that in the western regions of the Caliphate (particularly in the second half of the 10th century in the state of Buids) the process of feudalisation of society had gone deep. But in the Samanid state also the relative weight of typical feudal, that is, conditional (on the basis of grants) land ownership was clearly very high.

Feudal rent, condition of the peasantry and the people's movements

During the Tahirid and Samanid period the practice of "stamping" of peasants, reducing them to the level of slaves was stopped. The decisive role in cancelling of this harsh and humiliating custom was played by the uprising of Mukanna in Maverannahr and also by the powerful movement in Azerbaijan. A. Iu. Yakubovskii thinks the size of the labour rent (*corvee*) had decreased to some extent; as during the Samanid rule peasants did not have to build and repair the walls to repel the nomads.⁶⁸ But this does not mean that the entire general norm of feudal land rent, norm of feudal exploitation had come down. The development of the institution of *ikta* undoubtedly led to feudal exploitation of peasantry. On the other hand, the state also regularly collected the fixed norm of *kharaj* sometimes even twice a year under the pretext of loan for the next year. And at last, it can be assumed that the rapid growth of the trade-money relations in the 9th-10th centuries was bound to influence significantly the land rent, leading to its actual rise. In the first glance this assumption does not find its confirmation by the facts available. Really, according to the sources of the 9th-10th centuries the rent-tax from the different regions of Central Asia was calculated in money and its size expressed in certain sum and the same remained unchanged. However, facts testify that this immutability was simply outwardly, and, in reality, during the 9th-10th centuries, there took place a continuous rise in the actual size of the rent-tax.⁶⁹ This is clear from the following. According to the

68. Yakubovskii A. Iu. 1949, pp. 35-36.

69. Our attention was drawn to these facts by E.A. Davidovich.

information of Narshahi⁷⁰ the *kharaj* of Bukhara was a little less than 200 thousand silver *dirhams*. When the issue of “*gitrifi*” *dirhams* started, an exchange rate of 1 silver *dirham* to 6 “*gitrifi*” *dirhams* was established. Thus the *kharaj* of Bukhara worked out to less than 1200 thousand “*gitrifi*” *dirhams*.⁷¹ Later the exchange value of “*gitrifi*” *dirhams* rose and finally silver *dirhams* and “*gitrifi*” *dirhams* became equal in their purchasing power. But the government, as before, took *kharaj* only in “*gitrifi*” *dirhams*. This meant that the actual size of *kharaj* rose six-fold over a certain period. But that is not all. By 835 A.D. the exchange rate between silver *dirhams* and “*gitrifi*” *dirhams* even grew more: now 10 silver *dirhams* were equal not to 10 but only to 8.5 “*gitrifi*” *dirhams*. In 921 A.D. 10 silver *dirhams* were equal to only 7 “*gitrifi*” *dirhams*. If the initial size of *kharaj* was calculated at 100% then by 921 A.D. it rose to 857%. These figures are of course conditional as it is impossible to take into account many other factors (change in the prices of consumer goods and food stuffs). But one thing is beyond doubt: during the 9th-10th centuries the size of the *kharaj* of Bukhara which had remained unchanged outwardly, actually increased. It is obvious that such was the case for other regions of Bukhara as well.

In which form the land rent was collected is not clear. Sources of later period show that in Central Asia the feudal land rent, as usual, was collected in mixed form (in kind, in work and in money), though payment in kind was more prevalent. Sources of the 9th-10th centuries mention the *kharaj* was paid in money. But it is important to find out whether the *kharaj* in practice was collected from the direct producer in money only, or else it was only calculated in money but collected in kind. Only in the first case a firm conclusion could be drawn about the prevalence of monetary form of the rent-tax.

A.Iu. Yakubovskii was of the view that “monetary portion of *kharaj* in the 9th-10th centuries had become the main form.”⁷² He

70. Narshahi, Tehran edition, pp. 43-44; in the translation of N. Lykoshin there are serious distortions.

71. 1168567 — Narshahi, 1189200 — Ibn Khordadbekh, 1166897 — Makdisi.

72. Yakubovskii A. Iu., 1932, p. 16.

based his conclusion on the well-known account of Narshahi that in 874 A.D. Bukhara was owned by Husain ibn Tahir who collected the *kharaj* from Bukhara in "gitrifi" dirhams and wanted to exchange them in pure silver.⁷³ Thus the land rent-tax in Bukhara at that time was really collected in the form of money. The fact that this case was not the only one is confirmed by the above-mentioned facts about the *kharaj* in Bukhara, particularly in that part of the text, where it is narrated as to how the government after "increase in the value" of the "gitrifi" dirhams declined to accept *kharaj* in silver and demanded just the "gitrifi" dirhams. The collection of *kharaj* in monetary form in the 9th-10th centuries is known in many regions of Iraq also.⁷⁴

Bukhara was one of the big centres of crafts and trade. The whole Bukharan region had been drawn into money-commodity relations. It has been noted above that in many settlements, near Bukhara, there had already developed a money-commodity production. But in all regions of Central Asia trade and production was not equally developed. Everywhere money-commodity relations had not reached the same level. For many regions, particularly the far-flung ones it is difficult to imagine the real possibility of the domination of monetary form of rent. Concrete facts which we have at our disposal are connected with the highly developed Bukharan region. It would be premature to draw general conclusions for the whole of Central Asia on the basis of these few facts: perhaps the nature of collecting *kharaj* was not the same in different regions, in some regions it could be monetary, in others in kind, and in still others mixed.

In the 9th-10th centuries the main section of direct producers was divided into two groups: peasant communards and peasant tenants. Sometimes the difference between them got obliterated as not only landless but even some peasants with small lands became tenant-sharecroppers.

In historical literature there was a notion that in the East *metayage* (share-croppers' system) was the main form of exploitation of peasants, the peasant-*metayer* (share-cropper) was

73. Narshahi, Tehran edition, p. 92.

74. Lambton A.K.S., 1969, pp. 31-49.

the central figure in agriculture.⁷⁵ However, on the basis of facts one has to admit that the question of place and relative weight of the commune and *metayage* system has not yet been studied concretely for Central Asia of the 9th-10th centuries.

The established feudal exploitation during the Samanid period (the actual increase of feudal land-rent; cases when the annual norm was collected twice; development of conditional landownership on the basis of grants; *metayage* system etc.) led to a large number of people becoming fully deprived of land and entirely dependent on large landowners. Simple people — peasants and craftsman lived in dire poverty and became more and more pauperised.

The Samanids constructed majestic palaces, built *madrassas* and mosques at the expense of the toiling people, who were made to bear the heavy burden of it. All this was the cause of several mass uprisings of peasants against feudal oppression.

Already during the first year of his rule Ismail Samanid suppressed the big peasant uprising. About this uprising Narshahi wrote: "One of the bandits collected people around him. Around four thousand vagabonds and rural idlers collected and all of them engaged in looting and pillaging on the road between Ramitau and Barkad. They wanted to raid the city (Bukhara — B.G.)."⁷⁶

Undoubtedly he was referring to the uprising of the peasants. But being a representative of the feudals Narshahi had a negative approach towards popular uprising calling the rebels and their leaders "vagabonds" and "bandits".

No less hard was the condition of the craftsmen. The Tajik Arabic-speaking poet Abu Khatim al-Varrak, a paper-maker by profession, at the end of his life after spending fifty years in his craft, came to the following conclusion:

"Truly speaking paper-making is a contemptible, ill-fated business, my life is hard with it. If I am alive, I donot have food, and if I die I donot have cerements".

The main internal contradiction in the Samanid state was the struggle between the toiling classes, peasants and craftsmen from

75. A. Iu. Yakubovskii, 1934, pp. 61-62, 1947.

76. Narshahi, Tehran edition, p. 95.

one side and the dominant feudal class and its ruling clique from the other.

In most cases the class struggle, arising on the economic basis (the increase of *kharaj*, etc.) found its ideological expression in the collision between the official religion and religious heresies under the banner of which the toiling people rose. Such a struggle took place in Bukhara, Seistan and Chaganian.

By the way, Karmatism was also a religious form of protest of the popular masses against the exploitation and oppression. The early Karmatism absorbed in itself many pre-Islamic religious ideas, including several elements of Mazdakism. The Karmats called for return to the agricultural commune with equality for its free members alongside preservation of slavery. The preaching of equality attracted to the Karmats a considerable groups of peasants enslaved by the feudals. This was the reason for rapid expansion of Karmatism to the entire Near East.

In Central Asia many popular movements were drawn to the Karmat sect. Many progressive people of that period understood Karmatism as opposition to the prevailing oppression and as a call for social equality.

The Karmat movement was deeply contradictory from the very moment of its birth. It was from one side a movement of popular masses against the new feudal order and from the other a movement of the elite against the central feudal power.

The Completion of the Process of Formation of the Tajik People

During the period when the power over Maverannahr and Khorasan was concentrated in the hands of the Samanids, the process of formation of the Tajik people was completed. In the new conditions of state independence many cultural traditions were revived and at the same time new cultural values were created, particularly classical poetry which got world-wide recognition.

Even long before the Arab penetration of Central Asia on the basis of increasing economic and cultural links between the different regions, and state formations of Central Asia, the growth of urban life in conditions of development of feudal relations, the

tendency towards unification and fusion of some predominantly settled Central Asian people into one nationality emerged clearly.

The ethnic processes which had been going on the territory of Central Asia, since the ancient times, resulted in the formation of different nationalities such as the Sogdians, Khwarezmians, Farganians and Tukharistanians etc. Each of them had its own culture. The specific character of these local ethnic cultures should not be exaggerated, as also the level of their unity, because each one of them consisted of a mosaic of sub-cultures. The languages of these nationalities belonged to the Eastern Iranian group. However, for Tukharistan the sources indicate three languages: "local", perhaps Eastern Iranian, a kind of "Tukharistan" language and the Turkic language.

The ethnic massif consisted of settled and nomadic people, the latter before the new era were almost exclusively Eastern Iranian, particularly the nomads who entered the Saks group. Starting with the last centuries B.C. and the beginning of our era, along with the influx of the Iranian-speaking groups, the invasions of the alien language groups, particularly the Turkic speaking groups, started. The large groups of the latter migrated to Central Asia only during the period of the Turk Kaganate; and beginning with the 6th-8th centuries the Turks started playing a significant role in the Central Asian ethnic history.

The boundaries of ethnic formations were not at all impenetrable, ethnic diffusion was going on constantly and uninterruptedly. This process was going on not only between homogenous in culture massifs but also between heterogenous ones, so to say, between settled peoples and nomads. The settling down of nomads, their transition to land cultivation, inclusion into the composition of population residing in settlements including cities — all these processes had been going on on the territory of Central Asia during thousands of years. It is also important that ethnic massifs speaking different languages in the case of territorial nearness entered into closest cultural, economic and inter-group ethnic contacts. It resulted in the emergence of partial or full bilingualism, loss of native language, different forms of mutual assimilation of the elements of culture and economy and the entire cultural-economic complex, creation of the forms of

mutually linked economic structure, etc. Mechanism and variations of such mutual relations have been studied in detail by linguists and ethnographers for the entire Central Asia as well. As a result one can witness such extreme poles, as for example, Tajik-speaking Kharduri who assimilated the way of life and culture of the nomadic Uzbeks and just the other way round, initially nomadic and Turkic-language speaking tribe "Turk" at present time in the Kulyab group of districts fully adopting the land tilling work and mastering the Tajik language. Very interesting are the different forms of bilingualism spread, for examples, among the Chust or Mukhar Tajiks.⁷⁷

Of course, mixed marriages, cross-breeding of the population took place as is mentioned in the written sources. The main mass of Central Asian population belonged to the race of Central Asian territory, lying between the two rivers, also called the Pamir-Fargana race. This is one of the racial types of large Europeoid race. It was earmarked, described and analysed by Soviet anthropologists, particularly by L.V. Oshanin and A.I. Yarkho. This anthropological type is characterised by the following traits: the face is not flat but slightly protruding ahead, with abundant hair, cheek bones weakly developed, the face is not wide and not long, the nose is of average length and straight (the Pamirians have an "eagle"-like nose). The colour of the eyes is dark with tinge, the hair are black. The skull if seen from above is round, from here the name Brakhitsefali ("round-headed"). The height is average 166-167 cm.

To the race of Central Asian territory, lying between the two rivers (Amu and Syr), belong the Tajiks (this race in its purest form is represented by the Tajiks living in mountains and in areas near the Pamir) and the Uzbeks, but the latter have many Mongoloid features.

77. Karmisheva B.Kh., 1957; 1960; 1968; 1964; Pisarchik A.K. and Karmisheva B.Kh., 1953; Sukhareva O.A., 1958; 1966; Eshniyazov M. 1956; 1967. Among the works of linguists; Borovkov A.K., 1952; Rastorgueva V.S., and others, 1964 and also materials in the collection "Vzaimodistvie i Vzaimo-obogashchenie Iazikov Narodov SSSR", (M. 1969).

There are several hypotheses about the origin of this race. According to one of them it emerged on the basis of mixing of more ancient Europeoid racial types which were spread in Central Asia: according to the other as a result of transformation of one of these types, approximately in the beginning of the first millennium A.D. Some anthropologists extend this date to much older times. In the middle of the first millennium A.D., the influx of Turk tribes increased and along with them the Mongoloid racial type. However, in the first stages Mongolisation of the racial type lagged behind the process of Turkicisation on the language basis.

In the subsequent historical epoch, the development of the race of the Central Asian territory, lying between the rivers, continued and by the present times it underwent considerable changes distinguished in different regions of its settlement (under the influence of the processes of centuries-long transformation which were going on mixing up and the phenomenon of isolation).⁷⁸

In Central Asia, by the time of the Arab conquest, such Eastern Iranian languages as Sogdian, Farganian, Khwarezmian and Ephtalite were spread. The Parthian language which belonged to the family of western Iranian languages, by the 5th-6th centuries A.D., completely vanished from the territory of southern Turkmenia and Khorasan.

The Tajik language (*Porsi-i-Dari*) was formed historically and entered the wide arena of political and cultural life in Khorasan, Seistan and Maverannahr, where from first independent the Caliphate state formations of Eastern Iranian nationalities were formed. It is here that the local feudal elite and the circles supporting it started promoting their native language; *Porsi-i-Dari*.

The discoveries in Merv of Persian (middle Persian) inscriptions, which relate to the 7th-8th centuries lead us to the assumption that by this time the Persian language was already used here. According to the important testimony of al-Jakhshiari,

78. Oshanin L.V., 1937, 1957, 1957a, 1958, 1959; Oshanin L.V. and Zezenkova V. Ta., 1953; Ginzburg V.V., 1949, 1959, 1964; Debets G.F., 1948; Rychkov Tu. G., 1969 and others.

in Khorasan upto 742 A.D.⁷⁹, Persian script was used (perhaps on the basis of Pahlevian alphabet), and the script writers were called magicians. On the basis of information given by al-Mukaffa Mukaddasi one can assume that in the first half of the 8th century Persian language (Tajik) was spreading in Balkh.

In the 7th-8th centuries this language occupied a firm position in the north-eastern Iran, northern Afghanistan and in the south of Central Asia, including southern Tajikistan. It is testified, apart from the above-mentioned information of al-Mukaffa by the account of Hoi. Chao about the existence of special "Tokharistan" language, the information of Tabari about the derisive poem which the inhabitants of Tukharistan were reciting after the defeat of the Arabs, and by the data of ancient topographical linguistics. In the writings of the authors of 8th-10th centuries Tajik language (it was called *Zaban-i-Farsi-i-Dari* or *Zaban-i-Farasi*) is linked with Khorasan, especially with Balkh. It is quite possible that just during the period preceding the Arab conquest many of its important peculiarities were formed. Political reasons, persecutions against local cultures — all this created unfavourable conditions for the further development of Sogdian, Khwarezmian and other Eastern Iranian languages.

From Merv, Balkh and other administrative, economic and cultural centres of northern Khorasan, Farsi spread on the territory of Maverannahr ousting gradually local Eastern Iranian languages of Central Asia — Sogdian and Bactrian dialects. History does not know in detail about this process and the concrete historical conditions in which it was going on. It is quite likely that several centuries before the Arab conquest the Persian language had penetrated Central Asia along with Manicheism. It is known that in the large cities of Central Asia, for example, in Samarkand in 6th-7th centuries considerably large Manichean communes existed. There are reasons to think that there, as also in the Manichean communes of Eastern Turkistan, the Persian language was used.

79. Since 742 A.D. Arabic language and script became compulsory for the administrative apparatus of Khorasan and hence Maverannahr also which administratively was a part of the Khorasan vic-regency.

It may be noted that among the troops of the Arab Caliphate, which seized Mavrennahr, there were a considerable number of persons of non-Arab origin. These were the so-called *mavali*, that is the representatives of the peoples conquered by the Arabs which embraced Islam and were under the patronage of separate Arab tribes. It is known that among the troops of the Arab vice-regents of Khorasan, which were leading the conquest of Maverannahr, the number of such *mavali*, mainly Khorasanians was quite large. These Persian speaking converts to Islam — *mavali* — who were attracted by the lust for rich booty, actively participated in the conquest of Maverannahr and in implanting Islam in the conquered regions. (Of course, the spread of the language in a corresponding situation can be far wider, considerably surpassing the scale of ethnic shifts — the history of Latin language in Western Europe gives the text book example of this). The preserved *Hadis* (the holy legends of the Muslims) testify to the fact that the Persian language was in that period, as also later, one of the significant instrument of Islamic propaganda. From the narration of Narshahi (10th century) about the construction in the 74th year of *hijra*, i.e., in 712-713 A.D. of the big mosque in the citadel of Bukhara, is evident that for the propaganda of Islam and in the Islamic ritual the local language (or languages) of the residents of Bukhara was used.

It is also known that one of the Muslim missionaries (in 728 A.D.) declined to propagate Islam in Samarkand because he was not proficient in the Persian language.

The process of the transition of the Sogdian-speaking population of Maverannahr to the Persian language was of course a very long one. According to the notes of the Chinese pilgrim, Huan Tsang who travelled across Central Asia in 629 A.D., the name *Su-li* (Sogd) was applied to the entire territory from Suyab (the valley of Chu river) upto Kesh (present-day Shahrsubz to the south of Samarkand) and accordingly to the language of the population and to the script of this whole region. As is evident, in the beginning of the 7th century Sogdian language was widely spread not only in Sogd itself (the valley of Zeravshan and adjacent districts, Kashka Daria oases, etc.) but in Semirechiye — the region of intensive Sogdian colonization also. The proof of the

fact that in the first quarter of the 8th century the population of the valley of Zeravshan still spoke the Sogdian language has already, been mentioned in the archives of the Sogdian documents discovered from the Mughill. As a study of these archives show, the entire internal correspondence of Devashtich and other Sogdian feudals was conducted in the Sogdian language. The letters sent by him and to him by his correspondents were written in the Sogdian language. Narshahi narrates an interesting fact, relating to the period of Arab conquest of Bukhara. The conquerors forced the Bukharans to attend the prayers in the above-mentioned mosque. But as the Bukharans (or some sections of them) did not know at that time neither the Persian nor the Arabic language, behind the people offering prayer stood a special person who would tell them in the Sogdian language when to kneel or to perform some other act of ritual.

Apparently, only in the 9th-10th century, the bulk of the population of the large cities of Maverannahr (Samarkand, Bukhara) switched over to the Persian language.

In the 10th century in Bukhara, as is known, there existed quite a developed literature in the Persian language. However, in rural areas and the mountainous districts situated far away from the large cities and from the main means of communication the Sogdian language was still preserved. According to the Arabic-speaking geographer Mukaddasi at the end of the 10th century in Bukharan "rustaks" (villages) dependent on Bukhara, the Sogdian language was spoken: "...the Sogdians have their own language; similar to the various dialects of the Bukharan "rustaks". They are understood there; I saw the illustrious Imam Mohammad ibn-Fadal who spoke these dialects very well."

As already mentioned, in the upper parts of Zeravshan along its upper tributaries, Sogdian dialects were preserved during the entire medieval period and one of them exists even now in the valley of Yagnob (the left tributary of river Zeravshan).

Changing over to the Persian language, the Sogdian population brought into it some elements of the Sogdian language, mainly lexical.⁸⁰

80. Livshits V.A., 1957, p. 31 onwards.

The ousting by the Persian language of the local Eastern Iranian dialects of the mountainous districts of ancient Tokharistan was going on the same way.

Thus, "Zaban-i-Farsi" spread first of all in the cities and only then in the rural areas where still in the 10th-11th centuries there were large groups speaking Sogdian and Khwarezmian languages. As travellers of 10th century inform and as is evident from the texts closer to that period, the Farsi language, i.e., Tajik, was divided into several dialects and the residents of every large city and district had their own dialect. There is information about dialects of Samarkand, Herat, Nisapur, Merv, Balkh, etc. At the same time these Eastern dialects, thanks to the isolation, peculiarity of pronunciation, induction of many words from Eastern Iranian languages, greatly differed from the Western. The dialects of the East were called "Farsi", the dialects of the West "Ajas" and only later the name "Farsi" began to be applied to the western dialect also.

In the opinion of the linguists already in the 10th-11th centuries we observe some significant peculiarities characteristic of present day Tajik language distinguishing it from the present Persian language. However, these distinctions were fully formed approximately half a millennium later.

Many significant questions of the formation and development of Tajik language have not yet received final interpretation in the works of linguists; the place and time of the formation of this language⁸¹ is under discussion.

A vast literature in Tajik language developed in the 9th-10th centuries. At the base of the literary language were the Khorasan — Central Asian dialects. The literary Tajik language was emerging, in which excellent pieces of Tajik-Persian literature were written.

The development of literature was only one side of the picture, though a very important and bright side was appearance and the establishment of the Tajik culture. The 9th-10th centuries

81. Behar M.T., I-II, 1942; Mirzoev A., 1949, Bertse E.E., 1950; Farzilov M.F., 1954; Boldirev A.N., 1955; Semenov A.A., 1966; Lazard, 1961; Livshits V.A., 1968a; Kapranov V.A., 1964.

are characterised by brightly expressed processes in the sphere of development of science, spiritual and material culture, processes of prominent creation of Central Asian schools and trends.

Thus, by the 9th-10th centuries, in the central Asian territory lying between the rivers (Maverannahr) and Khorasan, a large ethno-cultural community had been formed, almost entirely consisting of the state of the Tahirids, Safarids and especially Samanids. This community got its name during the 10th-11th centuries or in the first half of the 11th century. As Abu-al-Fazl Beihaki narrates in 435/1043-1044 A.D. one of the retinue of the Sultan said: "Among us, the Taziks."⁸²

Before that in the 10th century the term "Tazi" was applied to Arabs as well. Beihaki, while narrating about one clash after the battle near Dandenakan (1040 A.D.), writes that Indians, Arabs and Kurds fled, and Tazik warriors bravely fought the enemy.⁸³ Thus in the first half of the 11th century the term "Tajik" became the "self designation" of the people who developed into a nationality in Central Asia and Khorasan.⁸⁴

Although the formation of the Tajik nationality had been completed in the 9th-10th centuries, it did not remain unchanged in subsequent centuries. From one side the process of consolidation of the Tajik people, the strengthening of the commonality of its spiritual and material culture was going on. However, the alien intrusions and feudal fragmentation resulted in the process leading in the reverse side. Increasing role in the history of the Tajiks was played by close contacts with the Turkic language tribes and the peoples of Central Asia, whose role considerably rose in rapid leaps in the second millennium A.D. The rapprochement between these peoples took place and they jointly conducted a struggle against alien conquerors and class enemies. In all popular uprisings in the later centuries, in the heroic struggles against foreign invaders, one can see the forefathers of all the peoples of Central Asia and especially the neighbouring peoples — the Tajiks and the Uzbeks. Studying the

82. Beihaki, 1969, p. 725.

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 758-759.

84. Mandelshtam A.M., 1954a, p. 58.

distinctive contribution made by each of these peoples to the treasurehouse of world culture, we only affirm their mutual links and influence on each other.

3. Science and Literature in the IX-X Centuries

First Written Works in the Tajik Language (Dari, Farsi Dari)

The conquest of Maverannahr and its incorporation in the Arab Caliphate meant the spread here not only of Islam but the Arabic language also. In Maverannahr, as in other parts of the Caliphate, the Arabic language was considered the language of religion and state, both. The local aristocracy which was trying to come closer to the Arab rulers tried hard to learn the Arabic language. Among them appeared people who completely forgot their native language and spoke only Arabic. At the same time the Arabic language was used as the language of science, by the scholars of Central Asian origin. The works of such local scholars, written in the Arabic language, as Khwarezmian Mohammad ibn-Musa al-Khwarezmi (780-863 A.D.)⁸⁵, Farganian astronomist al-Fargani (9th century), Ahmad ibn-Abdallah al-Mervezi (from Merv, died around 870 A.D.), linguist Sebaveihi (died around 800 A.D.) and others.

The period of the rule of the Tahirids, which was the first step towards independence from the power of the Caliphate, changed this status to some extent. The first Tahirid looked contemptuously at the literature of the native language. But at the end of this period local aristocrats, who earlier considered study and use of the Arabic language as one of the means of strengthening their position, could not ignore the languages of the popular masses any longer. For consolidation of the power in the country it was necessary to lean upon the local population. The attempts to introduce the literature of the local language which was the language of the indigenous population along with the Arabic language were a sort of political demonstration. By this action the

85. The famous historian of science Sarton writes about him that "he was the greatest mathematician of his times and if to take into account all the circumstances then one of the greatest of all times". -

local aristocracy underscored its independence from the Arabic Caliphate once again. It was the reason why since this period of the Tahirids in the court circles and among the ruling classes they began to write in the local language. Yakub ibn-Leis, the representative of the dynasty of Safarids which replaced the Tahirids openly refused to hear the poems in his honour in the Arabic language.

Under the Samands the Tajik language of that time, which was called Dari, or Farsi Dari, in written works, was accepted as state language mainly. The official correspondence on questions which were not related to religion began to be conducted predominantly in this language.

For the Dari language entry into the sphere of poetry and prose literature opened up. Along with the works in the Arabic language more and more works in the Dari language started appearing.

Unfortunately many of the earlier relics of the written works of the Samanid period have not been preserved. But on the basis of whatever has been preserved it can be stated that the achievements of that time, in the sphere of language, both in prose and poetry, were not very high.

One of the relics of the prose of the Samanid period written in Dari language and preserved right upto our times is the introduction to the *Shahnama* in prose which was written in the Tusa city in 957 A.D. on the order and under the supervision of one of the big figures of that time, Abu Mansur Mohammad ibn-Abd-r-Razzak who during the Samanids was the ruler of Tus and Nisapur (in Khorasan), and in 960-962 A.D. was twice the chief military commander in Khorasan. With the help of (Mobeds — Zoroastrian priests) and scholars, the information was collected about the past of the Iranian people, written later in the form of the book which served as one of the sources for the *Shahnama* of Firdausi.

The introduction by Abu Mansur to *Shahnama* is a work of prose in the Dari language in which no more than two percent of Arabic works can be seen; not counting personal names.

The other work written in Dari language is the translation of the work "History" of Tabari by Balami.

Abu Ali Mohammad Balami, who was the vazir during the rule of Mansur ibn-Nukh Samanid, completed the translation of this book in 963 A.D. on the order of the latter. Balami added to the translation the description of many episodes from the life of the Iranian people, e.g., *Dastan "Bahram Chubin"* which did not figure in the history of Tabari. In comparison to the language of "Introduction" to *Shahnama* by Abu Mansur in the translation by Balami more Arabic words are to be found but in grammatical structure and in the construction of the phrases and separate expressions there was no difference.

To the relics of that period also belongs the translation of the Arabic book *Tafsiri Tabari* (Commentary of Tabari on Koran). This commentary consisted of 14 volumes and was translated by scholars of Maverannahr in 962 A.D., i.e., simultaneously with the "History of Tabari". One of the famous scholars of the Samanid period, a great specialist on poetry and history of Abu al-Muaiad Balkhi wrote in the Dari language a book *Ajaib al-Bulda* (*wonders of the cities*). As the author of "History of Seistan" informs, Abdal al-Muaiad also wrote both *Shahnama* and *Garshasp-nama* from which only small excerpts have been preserved.

Besides the above-named works, the list of prose works written in the Dari language of that period also includes several scientific works including the geographical work *Khudud al-Alam* (The frontiers of the World) which was written by an unknown author at the end of the 10th century and is one of the most important sources for the study of socio-economic system in Central Asia and other countries in the 10th century. In 950 A.D. the collection of stories, *Sindbadnama*, was translated from the middle Persian language into Dari.

Development of Fiction Literature

The political situation in Central Asia in the beginning of the 9th century had already paved the way for the development of new written literature in the Tajik language (Dari) which was linked with the oral popular art and which had absorbed the high poetic culture in the Arabic language; these conditions in the Samanid period brought their results. That is why the Samanid is

considered the period of emergence of the classic Tajik-Persian literature.

It is necessary to clarify that the "Samanid period" is actually not the period of the birth of new Tajik-Persian literature. This is only the period of its official recognition and acquisition of written form, the period of boom.

Long before the formation of the Samanid state, the Tajiks recited artistic works orally in their own language. The preservation of the pre-Islamic traditions during the whole period of Arab domination, ancient themes and artistic characters are one of the proofs of the fact that the sources of the Tajik-Persian literature were related to more ancient period than the 9th century.

Along with the literature in the Tajik language (Dari) during the Samanid rule the literature in the Arabic language also developed. The creators of this literature in Khorasan and Maverannahr, in most cases, were the representatives of the Iranian nationalities of Iran and Central Asia, the ancestors of the contemporary Tajiks and Persians who were close to official circles and apart from their own native language were fluent in the Arabic language.

A native of Central Asia, Saalibi, in his work in the Arabic language *Yatimat ad-dahr* ("Rare Pearl") gave a detailed information about the poets of the Samanid period who lived in Bukhara, Khwarezm and Khorasan and wrote in the Arabic language. Among 119 poets mentioned by him most of them were Amirs, Vazirs, clerks and military commanders, once more indicated the links of the poets, writing in Arabic, with the official circles.

This period in the development of the classical Tajik-Persian literature of the medieval times is the most important one.

The Samanids attracted to the court poets with the aim of spreading their glory. On the other hand, the aspirations to be popular and also the strained financial situation compelled the poets and writers to join the court of one or the other ruler.

In the literature of the Samanid period, as well as in the literature of the subsequent feudal period, two trends can be noted: Popular and feudal (clerical-aristocratic)⁸⁶. In the subsequent

86. For details see Braginskii I.S., 1956.

narration the main attention naturally was paid to the writers in whose creative works the popular tendency dominated.

The recognised forefather of classical Tajik-Persian poetry is Rudaki who in his adolescence was a popular poet-musician. Abu Abdallah Jafar Rudaki was born in the middle of the 9th century in the village of Panjrud (near Penjikent) in a peasant family. Unfortunately, about the life of this brilliant poet and particularly about his childhood very little is known.

For understanding the life of Rudaki an important and decisive role was played by the discovery of the founder of Tajik Soviet literature, S. Aini. After careful research of the original sources and local enquiries, Aini came to the conclusion that Rudaki's grave was located in his native village which was not hitherto known to anybody. This fact threw light on the whole life of Rudaki and confirmed that this brilliant poet, who enjoyed the special patronage of the Samanids, led last days of his life, as the legend goes, out of favour, and was buried after his death in an unknown mountainous village. Such was the lot of the poet in the feudal times.⁸⁷

Rudaki became popular in his adolescence thanks to his melodious voice, poetical talent and skillful performance over his musical instrument *ruda*. He was invited by Nasr II ibn-Ahmad Samanid (914-943 A.D.) to his court where for the most part of his life was spent. As Abul Fazl Balami wrote, "Rudaki in his time was the first among his contemporaries in the sphere of poetry and neither among the Arabs nor among the Persians was there anybody like him." He was not only the master poet but also skillful performer, musician and singer. Rudaki trained the budding poets and helped them, which further enhanced his authority.

However in his old age he had to suffer great hardship. In 937 A.D. his close friend and patron vazir of Nasr II, Balami, was removed from his post. The old and blind poet, and may be forcibly blinded, as some sources state, was turned out of the court may be because of his friendship with Balami, or may be because

87. Aini S., 1959, pp. 30-36.

of his participation in the Karmat movement. He returned to his native place.

After this Rudaki did not live long. As Samani writes in the book *Al-Ansab* the poet died in 941 A.D. (according to other sources 952 A.D.) in his native village.⁸⁸ Hardly two thousand lines of the works of Rudaki have been preserved. The preserved poems of Rudaki testify to the high skill of the poet in the entire genres of poetry of that epoch. He wrote solemn odes (*Kasidas*) lyrical *ghazals*, large didactic poems (collection of famous fables from the series *Kalila and Dimna* and others), satirical poems and mourning dedications.

Rudaki was not an ordinary court ode composer. His odes begin with vivid descriptions of nature, glorification of the joys of life and love; the introduction to the ode is its main beauty. Religious motives are almost completely absent in the works of Rudaki. In many poems there is an imprint of deep philosophical thought. In the poem dedicated to the advent of old age Rudaki asks, "who is the culprit of the onset of old age?", and gives an answer:

"The world is such its lot is rotation and whirling, time is moving like a spring as the streams of water. What is medicine today tomorrow may turn into poison, so what? The sick will consider this poison as medicine you see: time ages everything that looked new but time also makes young the past deeds. Yes, flower gardens turn into desolate desert as deserts too blossom into thick flower gardens."⁸⁹

In his poems Rudaki glorifies reason and knowledge, nobleness and overcoming of adversities of life, humane attitude towards men, respect for labour; he gives preference to experience of life and calls it as the best teacher. Rudaki expresses the opinions formed among the popular masses. By his creative work he laid the basis of the whole Tajik -Persian poetry. He worked out

88. About the life and work of the poet many books have been written among which some are in Russian language: Mirzoev A.M., 1968, where a detailed bibliography is given. See also the work of Iranian scholar Nafisi (Tehran, T.I.-III, 1309-1313 A.D.) and new (enlarged edition): Tehran 1341.

89. Rudaki, 1958.

the main genres and their forms; in his poems almost all poetical measurements and character systems were crystallised.

The poems of Rudaki became a model for the coming generations of Tajik poets. He is the recognised founder of classical poetry, which having spread in the 10th-15th centuries among the Tajiks and Persians, gave birth to such celebrities as Firdausi and Khayyam, Saadi and Hafiz, Jami and others. The lovers of this poetry remember Rudaki with love and consider him as their teacher.

Abu-l-Hasan Shahid Balkhi was born in the village of Jakhudonakh in Balkh. Very little is known about his life also. From the early sources it is learnt that Shahid was one of the best court poets of Nasr II ibn Ahmad Samanid and a close disciple of Rudaki.

Shahid Balkhi is considered to be not only a poet but also one of the progressive scientists of his times. Ibn an-Nadim writes about him in his work "Fihrist": "There was a man known under the name of Shahid ibn al-Husain and his son named Abu-l-Hasan during the period of Ar-Razi."⁹⁰ He followed the path of Ar-Razi philosophy in science.... This person had books written by him. Between him and Ar-Razi there were disputes...."

Shahid died before Rudaki. The old poet wrote a touching elegy on the death of his favourite disciple.

Abu Shakur Balkhi was born in 915 A.D. and was invited to the court of Samanid Nukh ibn Nasr (943-954 A.D.). He became famous because of the poem *Afarinnama* written in 947-948 A.D. ("The Book of Creation" or "The Book of Blessings"), which unfortunately has not been preserved (only small excerpts are available). Perhaps it was one of the first in classical Tajik-Persian literature didactical poems. Apart from this, Abu Shakur had two more poems - *masnavi* which has also not been preserved. He also wrote four line poems (quatrains) called *rubais*, very close to popular form. In some fragments of his lyrical poems there are visible attempts to embellish the style to make it more refined. His embellished poems were so successful that they were translated

90. It refers to physician and scholar Abu Bakr Mohammad ibn Zakaria Razi (around 875-925 A.D.)

into Arabic language, which was the literary language in Central Asia and Iran.

Rabia was the first woman poetess (known to us) who wrote poems in Dari language. In several *tazkiras* (anthologies) her lyrical poems are preserved, which are full of warm human feelings and are distinguished by high literary skill. Her name is associated with poetic legend — the story about the tragic love of Rabia with a simple young slave narrated in the poetry of Farid al-Din Attar. We do not have real information about her life. Going by separate informations of the legend, Rabia was a contemporary of Rudaki and the famous poet highly appreciated her poems. The emergence of this woman poetess testifies to the high level of culture of that period.

Abu Mansur Muhammad ibn Ahmad Dakiki (died around 997 A.D.). The birth place of this poet is not known. Some think that he belonged to Tus (Khorasan). Others are of the opinion that he hailed from Samarkand or Bukhara; in any case whole of his life was spent in Maverannahr. Dakiki started his career in the court of the ruler of the region of Chaganiyan which was at that time considered to be one of the flourishing areas of the Samanid state. The fame of the talent of Dakiki was so widespread that he was soon invited to Bukhara to the court of the Samanids.

At this time in the ruling circles collection of ancient legends was quite popular.

The compiling of the codes of the heroic legends of the past had a key importance for the unification of the people in the struggle for the independent state. That is why the Samanids paid particular attention to the collection of the ancient heroic mythological legends from the Pahlevian as well as the Arabic sources, but especially from the oral sources current among the peasants and *mobeds*. It was this that gave rise to the prosaic *Shahnama* of Abu Mansur.

Amir Nukh II Samanid (976-997 A.D.) entrusted Dakiki to versify this *Shahnama*. But he could not complete this task as he was killed by his slave, while feasting. It is quite likely that he was a victim of the intrigues of the supporters of the Muslim orthodoxy who were hostile towards his work of reviving the heroic traditions.

Thousands of verses of Dakiki, in which he described the struggle of *Gushtasp* (Vishtasp) with Arjaspt, was included by Firdausi in his *Shahnama*.

About the number of the verses of the *Shahnama* written by Dakiki there exist other views as well: for example, the author of the first anthology of 13th century Muhammad Aufi mentions in twenty thousand verses.

The greatest poet of this period Abu-l-Kasim Firdausi was born between 934 and 941 A.D. in the village of Bazh, not far away from Tus, in an aristocratic family of average affluence and got good education. Besides his native language Dari he was also fluent in Arabic and perhaps Pahlevian (middle Persian) languages which enabled him to use the literature in these languages during the composition of the *Shahnama*.

When he was thirty-five years old, having travelled to Bukhara and other places and having collected in addition to *Shahnama* of Abu Mansur the detailed information about the past of the Iranian people, Firdausi started writing the *Shahnama* in verses. At this time the state of the Samanids was still at the zenith of its power.

The main task of this epic was seen by Firdausi in the strengthening the patriotic feelings of the people on the basis of literary comprehension of its heroic past. Firdausi devoted the best years of his life to this work. As he writes, he became aged while working on this project but did not put aside his pen:

*In the sixty- sixth year of life I became weak as a drunk,
In place of the leash in my hand there appeared a walking stick.
My face which glowed like a tulip now grew pale like moon,
My hair grew grey like camphor and back stooped under the
weight of age,
Vision became blurred.*

The main source of epic was a series of Saks-Sogdian legends about a hero Rustam which formed more than one-third of the entire epic; Sogdian-Khwarezmian legends about Siyavush; and Bactrian legends about Isfandiyar. Many myths in the first chapters of the epic, which have something in common with the legends, traces of which are to be found in the *Avesta* also originate from the Central Asian source. So far as the legends

about the Sasanid period are concerned (the lesser part of the epic) they are mainly taken from the written sources of the Pahlevian literature. The entire epic consists of three large periods — mythological, heroic and historical.

Firdausi constructed his work on the basis of the idea of struggle between good and evil originating in ancient Iranian legends. In the entire epic the Iranian people as the supporters of the good struggled against the evil forces of foreign invaders. In the legendary path of the epic in the face of the dragon King Zahhak the poet depicts the tyranny of the foreign oppressors and skillfully shows the overthrow of this tyranny as a result of the heroic struggle of the blacksmith Kava and of the people who rose on his call.

In the person of Rustam and other heroes of the poem, the poet shows the selfless struggle of the next generation for the independence of their motherland. Having included in his poem the historical events starting from the campaign of Alexander of Macedonia upto the Arab conquest and that of Yezdigerd III, the poet glorifies the idea of the people's struggle for independence of the motherland during its whole history. Besides this, he embellishes his poem with the romantic episodes (like the legend about the love of Zal and Rudab) sayings and utterances of a didactic character.

This entire epic of Firdausi is full of sympathy towards toilers, peasants and artisans who are depicted by him as noble and large-hearted persons. Firdausi greatly surpasses all his contemporaries in the evaluation of the movement of the Mazdakits about whom he writes with sympathy viewing them as "hungry and sufferers".

Only as a very old man, after many years of uninterrupted work, the poet completed his outstanding work by 994 A.D. consisting of more than 100 thousand lines of verses.

Many years have passed since the beginning of his work over the poem by Firdausi. The Samanid state disintegrated during the period and none of his patrons was alive. Then Firdausi, on the advice of one of his well wishers, dedicated *Shahnama* to Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi who had come to power.

But Mahmud rejected his poetical gift, and according to a legend, even ordered to throw the poet to be trampled under the feet of the elephant for his blasphemy — the description of pre-Islamic

heroes and kings. A representative of the new Turk dynasty, who replaced the Samanids, Mahmud Ghaznavid naturally saw a political danger in the poem which glorified the struggle of the ancestors of the Tajik people against the Turanians who were perceived as ancestors of the Turks in Mahamud's times.⁹¹

Besides this, Sultan Mahmud who was seeking support from the Arab Caliphate and the Muslim clergy stood against the glorification of the ancient pre-Islamic tradition in the *Shahnama* and its anti-Arab orientation. But the most important reason for the negative approach of Mahmud towards *Shahnama* of Firdausi was the fact that Mahmud who considered his main task the suppression of the popular movement could not approve the creation of a genius poet which was popular in its essence.

The artistic excellence of this epic created by Firdausi places it on par with the most distinguished epic works of world literature.⁹²

The great poet spent rest of his life in poverty and deprivation and died in Tus in 1020 A.D. (according to another information 1025 A.D.). The Muslim clergy, who considered Firdausi a heretic, banned his burial in a Muslim cemetery. He was buried in his own garden.⁹³ The name of Firdausi became immortal. His words addressed to Mahmud Ghaznavid came out true:

Fate has bestowed on me immortality, Grandeur of words and nobility of deeds

Everything is dust and ash

Days pass by, but the work,

Word of eternity are akin.

O King! I glorified you — an obscure leader — by my eloquent words.

Your palaces will be ruined with the passage of time from wind, sun, hail and rain. ...

91. The ancient name of the nomadic Eastern Iranian tribes.

92. In the Soviet Union a full scientific edition of the text of the *Shahnama* was published which was based on the most ancient manuscript compiled by the scientific workers of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (Vol. I-IX, 1960-1971). The full Russian translation of *Shahnama* is being published in the series "Literary Monuments": Firdausi Vol. I, 1958, Vol. II, 1960; Vol. III, 1965.

93. About Firdausi see: Osmanov M.N., 1959.

And I from my verses built such an edifice which like an element enters the universe.

Ages will pass by over the majestic book which I am entrusted to create.

I am down with oppression

People will start worshipping me

On whom oppression weighs on.

Men, young and old, and women will turn to my songs for happiness

Even after my death I will not die

I will be alive eternally.⁹⁴

Science

Achievements of science during the Samanid period were not less than those of fiction. However, the difference here was that scientific works were mostly written, as before, in the Arabic language. In the countries of the Muslim East the Arabic language, during several centuries, played the role of international scientific language. The use of local language while composing scientific works limited the dissemination of the author's work. Also it may be mentioned that the Arabic language possessed already worked out scientific terminology while the local languages did not have it. That is why in order to make their works available to the entire scientific circles of the countries of the East authors tried to write them in the Arabic language.

The number of scientists of this period, in every sphere of knowledge is, very large and one has to limit to the mentioning of only the most distinguished ones.

Ibn Kuteiba (828-889 A.D.) occupied a distinguished place in both history and literature. His work on history — *Kitab al-maarif* ("the book of Knowledge") has a great importance. No less significant is his literary work ("The Book about Poems and Poets") in which the author expressed his just opinion that old as well as new poets have equal significance in the history of literature.

Abu Mashar Jafar ibn-Muhammad Balkhis — one of the famous scholars of the 9th century — was engaged in the

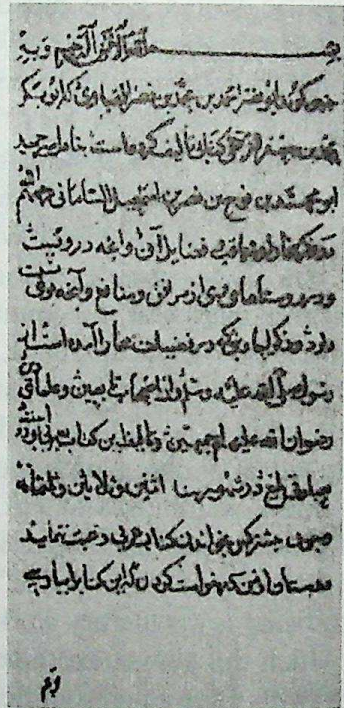
94. *Tajikskaya Poezia*, 1949, p. 54.

collection of the *hadis* (religious legends) and at the age of 47 he started studying mathematics in Baghdad; subsequently, he switched over to astronomy, writing about 40 works in this sphere. Abu Mashar died when he was nearly 100 years old in 886 A.D.

Abu Bakr Narshahi (died in 959 A.D.) was one of the most famous historians of the Samanid period. The book *Tarikhi Bukhara* (The History of Bukhara) which was written by him in the Arabic language and translated in 1128 A.D. in the Tajik language is one of the best historical sources giving the account of the life of separate regions of Maverannahr, particularly Bukhara.

Abu Nasr Farabi (around 870-950 A.D.) hailed from the ancient Faraba which was situated on the bank of Syr Daria and was the son of a Turk military commander.

In his adolescence he went to Damascus, to continue his education, then moved to Baghdad where he spent a considerable part of his life. All his works are written in the Arabic language. To Farabi belongs an outstanding role in the sphere of mastering the heritage of Aristotle and other ancient Greek philosophers and its transmission to the peoples of the Near East. Many Tajik thinkers called him the "second teacher" after Aristotle and considered him as their teacher in the sphere of Greek philosophy. Farabi wrote a large number of original works. His treatise, "About the Attitudes of the Inhabitants of a Perfect city", which was written not without the influence of antique works on state but contained many independent thoughts is of great interest. Farabi tries to answer some important questions in it:



A Page of the Manuscript of
The History of Bukhara by
Narshahi

about the origin of the state, about the causes of social inequality. His socio-utopian views had a great progressive significance for its times.

Abu Ali ibn Sina (Avicenna) was born approximately in 980 A.D. in the village Afshana (in the region of Bukhara) in the family of the one of the official of *Diwans* of the Samanid state. For his times he received a very comprehensive education. Having cured Amir Nukh ibn Mansur Samanid, Ibn Sina got access to the famous book store house of the Samanids, where he spent most of his time studying the literature on different questions. When the Samanid state was threatened by the Karakhanids and raided by Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavid, Abu Ali was forced to leave Bukhara. From this moment began his long period of wandering, imposed on him by Sultan Mahmud's persecution. Khwarezm and Abiverd, Gurgan and Rei, Kazvin and Hamadan, Isfahan and again Hamadan, where the "king of scholars", as his contemporaries called him, had not been?

These years were the years of hard work for Ibn Sina. He was busy treating people and delivering lectures, was the *Vazir* of the ruler of Hamadan and simultaneously he wrote a lot. His activities were varied and versatile: he was a philosopher, physician, poet and a political figure. There was no sphere of science which was not studied by this excellent Tajik encyclopaedist of the 10th-11th centuries.

His work, *Al-Kanun Fi-t-tib* (Canon of Medicine), was the best work on medicine which served for six centuries (from 11th to 17th century) as a guide for the physician-practitioner and as a text book for the physicians of entire Europe. *Al-Kanun* was published in Europe in Latin and other languages many a times.

Ibn Sina became famous in the East and West as the greatest philosopher of his times.

The encyclopaedical work of Ibn Sina *Kitab ash-shifa* (The Book of Convalescence) which discusses logic, natural science, metaphysics and mathematics. *Danish-nama* (The Book of Knowledge) which was written in the Farsi Dari language and dealt with the questions of logic, natural sciences, philosophy, mathematics and astronomy and are considered the best relic of

the advanced medieval thought of the 10th-11th century as *Al-Kanun* and others.

In mastering the heritage of antique philosophers, particularly Aristotle, Ibn Sina was not a simple follower, he tried to develop the ideas creatively. Although Ibn Sina tried to or was compelled to bring into some accord his rational views with the dogmas of Islam, which resulted in a sort of inconsistency and duality, yet the main kernel of his philosophical system was the most progressive word of the Eastern peripatetic. He developed the teachings of the causative regularity in nature in counterbalance with the dogma of divine pre-destination. At the same time, Ibn Sina remained a dualist who recognised as the beginning of existence two substances, material and ideal, and an idealist, who recognised the existence of God and took cognisance of the prejudices of his times, and symbolics of numbers. But this inevitable historical limitation does not decrease the importance of Ibn Sina in the history of Tajik and world science. Such progressive views of Ibn Sina as the right of the people to overthrow the tyrant through armed struggle are worth mentioning. In this respect the views of the great Tajik scholar are in consonance with the ideas of the *Shahnama* of Firdausi.

Summing up; the results of development of culture in the 9th-10th centuries, it may be noted that the Tajik people achieved considerable successes in all spheres of science and literature. This was helped by the historically formed circumstances: the creation of own statehood and liberation of the country from the oppression of the Arab Caliphate; the unification of the Tajik people and the formation of a literary language; the centralisation of state administration; and finally the wide mutual economic and cultural relations between the peoples of Central Asia and all the countries of the Near East.

Chapter 3

The Tajik People 11th–Early 13th c. State of the Gaznavids, Karakhanids, Gaurids and the Khwarezm Shahs

1. Political History

Unsuccessful Struggle of Abu Ibrahim for Restoration of the Power of the Samanids

In the first years of the 11th century, after the seizure of Maverannahr by the Karakhanids, a stubborn struggle against them was conducted by the brother of Abd al-Malik—Abu Ibrahim Ismail ibn Nukh who became famous for it under the name of Muntasir (“the victor”). Muntasir fled from Uzgend where the Karakhanids held him in prison of Khwarezm and having collected there the troops from the supporters of the Samanid dynasty moved to Bukhara, drove away the Karakhanid vice-regent and seized the city. The remnants of the defeated army of the Karakhanids took shelter in Samarkand.

The brother of the Karakhanid Khan Jafar-tegin who was at that time the ruler of Samarkand confronted Muntasir with the united forces of Samarkand and Bukhara but was badly defeated and was taken prisoner along with a large number of his military commanders. Later Muntasir returned to Bukhara and took power in his hands.

However, when the Karakhanid ruler Nasr-ilek sent his main forces against him, Muntasir could not face them and moved to Khorasan Bukhara without a fight. There Abu-l-Kasim Simjuri

joined him and along with him he began a struggle against Mahmud Gaznavid. Notwithstanding partial success this struggle ended in failure.

In 1003 A.D. Muntasir returned to Maverannahr and with the help of the Guzs stirred up a rebellion against the Karakhanids for the second time.

The Guzs (Oguzs) in Central Asia were the Turkish-speaking tribes, predominantly nomadic. In the 10th century the territory where the nomads roamed was scattered in the wide steppe from the area near South Balkash to the Lower Volga. But they lived more compactly in the near-Caspian region, lower Syr Daria and in the near-Ural area.¹ A small and most poor section of the Guzs had settled by that time in cities and settlements and was engaged in cultivation of land. At the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century the state of the Guzs was formed near the Aral Sea. Their capital and winter residence was the city of Yangikent on the lower Syr Daria. Feudalised elite of the Guzs intensively exploited the ordinary nomads and cultivators. Development of class contradictions among the Oguzs led to the downfall of the Syr Daria state of the Oguzs in the 10th-11th centuries.

Wars with the neighbouring settled people were a constant source of enrichment for the tribal-clan elite of the Guzs. Against their raids a large number of fortifications, along the borders of the oases, were constructed. On the other hand the need for food and mutually advantageous exchange of products of nomadic and settled economy increased the contacts between the Guzs and the settled population of the oases.

Initially the situation was very favourable for Muntasir. He defeated the troops of Nasr-ilek and imprisoned 18 Karakhanid military commanders. However, soon after this between Muntasir and his military commanders, quarrels started over the distribution of war booty. Muntasir who did not have the support of the population of Maverannahr, fearing collaboration of the commanders with the Karakhanids and their betrayal, decided to look for other allies. Late in the autumn of 1003 A.D., along with

1. For a detailed analysis of information about the habitat of the Guzs see: Agajanov S.G., 1969, pp. 49-85.

700 infantrymen and horsemen, he crossed the Amu Daria to set up a camp in Abiverd or Nisa. However, he was confronted here by a military detachment of the Shah of Khwarezm and was defeated and with the remnants of his forces he turned back to Maverannahr.

In subsequent fight against the Karakhanids, Muntasir defeated the troops of the vice-regent who was left by Nasr in Bukhara. As a result of these successes of Muntasir, in some localities of Maverannahr, a movement for restoration of the power of the Samanids started. The leader of Samarkand detachment, Kharis who was known as Ibn Alamdar, joined Muntasir with his 3000-strong troops. Besides this, city Sheikhs armed hundreds of rulers. Finally the Guzs again expressed their wish to be under the command of Muntasir. Having thus strengthened his troops Muntasir in the fight near Burnemed (on the border of Sogd and Ustrushan) defeated the main forces of Nasr-ilek.

Notwithstanding this great success, Muntasir could not hold Maverannahr because Nasr-ilek rapidly collected fresh forces and attacked him in the valley, between Jizak and Havas. The Guzs who captured in the fight near Burnemed, a large booty, did not want to take part in this fight and returned to their nomadic territory. Besides, at the most critical moment, one of the leading military commanders of Muntasir betrayed him by crossing over to the side of Nasr-ilek with his four thousand strong troops. Muntasir was unable to repel the attack of the Karakhanids and was forced to flee to Khorasan. But even after this, Muntasir did not give up the idea of restoring the Samanid state. He rapidly collected fresh troops and for the fourth time marched upon Maverannahr. But this time also he was defeated because of the betrayal of his military commanders. In the beginning of 1005 A.D. Muntasir was killed by one of his military leaders from a nomadic tribe.

Muntasir was the sole representative of the dynasty of the Samanids who continuously struggled for restoration of its power in Maverannahr. But as the Samanids, politically as well as economically, lost the ground under their feet and the main groups of population did not support them, all the attempts of Muntasir did not succeed.

After the death of Muntasir the struggle for the division of the Samanid inheritance continued between Mahmud Gaznavid and the Karakhanids.

The Tajiks in the State of the Gaznavids

The rise of Gazna as a political centre had begun in the second half of the 10th century.²

In the historical sources, the direct founder of the state of the Gaznavids, in the 10th century is known as Sebuktegin³ who ensured the independence of Gazna and added to it the lands of the basin of the Kabul river. For the help which he gave to the Samanid Amir Nukh II, Khorasan was also gifted to him. Sebuktegin died in 997 A.D.

Mahmud Gaznavid was the elder son of Sebuktegin and also his lawful successor. However, during his illness Sebuktegin declared his younger son Ismail as his successor. The rule of Ismail continued for not more than seven months. In the country the rebellions of the local feudals against the Central power became more frequent. Mahmud took advantage of this. He proceeded with his troops towards Gazna and captured power.

In 999 A.D. the Samanid state was invaded by the Karakhanid from the north, Mahmud came out against the Samanids from the south and seized the entire Khorasan.

The status of Mahmud was greatly raised by the fact that the Caliph of Baghdad recognized his power and granted him the honorific titles. In 1002 Mahmud captured Seistan.

2. The political history of Gaznavids is given in detail in Bart'old V.V., 1963b p. 332 onwards; Bosworth S.E., 1963, pp. 35-37; 227-268; For short summary see Masson V.M., Romodin V.A., 1964, pp. 242 onwards; Spuler V., 1952, pp. 111-124.
3. The information about the origin and early biography of Sebuktegin, contained in "Pand-nama", has come down to us (in the form of excerpts) in some medieval sources, especially in the work of Muhammad Shabangarai (14th century), *Majma at-ansab*, in which it is stated that Sebuktegin hailed from a Turkish tribe Barskhan, inhabiting Turkestan. In his adolescence Sebuktegin was taken prisoner and for four years he was grazing cattle with a Turkish tribe Tukhsi, then he was sold to a trader from Maverannahr (LO IVAN SSSR, C-372, pp. 144-145). *Pand-nama*, as the source of early history of the Gaznavids, see: Bosworth S.E., 1965.

The Amur Daria was initially recognised as the border between the Karakhanids and the Gaznavids. But soon the Karakhanid forces started violating this border. In 1008 A.D., in the region of Balkh, a battle was fought between the Karakhanid and the Gaznavid troops. Complete victory of Mahmud consolidated his status in Khorasan. Under his sway also fell Chagnayan and Khuttalyan where he left (as his Vice Regents) the representatives of old local dynasties.

Under Mahmud (998-1030 A.D.) the Gaznavid state reached the zenith of its power.⁴

During the period from 1002 to 1026 A.D. Mahmud Gaznavid undertook more than 15 campaigns against India. The basic aim of these campaigns, which were undertaken under the slogan of "holy war", was to plunder India and seizure of its wealth.

The campaigns of Mahmud Gaznavid brought to the people of India incalculable misery. His soldiers looted the people, destroyed the religious and historical monuments. Mahmud not only looted and destroyed cities but also perpetrated unbelievable brutality against the people. Having captured in 1019 A.D. the fortress of Mahovan (or Mohaban) Mahmud assassinated all its inhabitants in revenge for the ruler of the fortress having fled on his arrival.

From the Indian campaign of 1019 A.D. Sultan Mahmud took away to Gazna a lot of precious stones and other valuables, 350 elephants and 57 thousand slaves. As historical sources record, the number of prisoners taken away by Mahmud was so large that for lodging them there were not enough buildings in the cities and new constructions had to be erected.

In 1010-1011 A.D. Mahmud occupied a part of the Gur country (the region in present Afghanistan) by inflicting big losses. In 1017 A.D., taking advantage of the murder of Khwarezm Shah Mamun, Mahmud captured Khwarezm and annexed it to his state. In 1024 A.D. he came to Balkh with large forces under the pretext that he wanted to liberate the people of Maverannahr from the tyranny of Karakhanid Ali-tegin. He crossed Amu Daria and reached Samarkand. Under the sphere of his influence came such regions as Chaganyan, Kabadian,

4. For more details see, Yakubovskii. A. Iu., 1934; Nazim M., 1931.

Khuttalyan and others. In 1029 A.D. having captured Rei, Mahmud imprisoned its rulers and sent all riches seized by him to Gazna. Thus in the State of Mahmud Gaznavid were incorporated large number of regions beginning with the north and north-west of India upto Chaganyan and Khwarezm and on the territory of present Iran—upto Isfahan and Rei.

The predatory campaigns of Sultan Mahmud, particularly his wars with India which were the main source of enrichment of the Sultan, his guards and troops, led to the impoverishment of the toiling people. Before every military campaign large taxes were realised from the people and after paying they were left with no means for living. That is why the economy of the country declined, many agricultural oases were depopulated and the irrigation system in some places became fully non-operational.

As a result of such a decline of agriculture in Khorasan in 1011 there started a famine. Early autumn and dry spring led to crop failure. In Nisapur and its neighbourhood according to information provided by historical chronicles, thousands of people died of starvation. Although there were cases when in the bazars of Nisapur upto 400 maunds of grain remained unsold as the population had become so poor that it could not buy it. People ate cats and dogs and cases of cannibalism were also reported.

Mahmud Gaznavid, although he had all the possibility to free the people from starvation death, did not take any serious measures in this respect and ordered that the rulers of Khorasan to give insignificant sums of money as help to the poor. In the intervals between military campaigns, Sultan Mahmud was busy decorating his capital. During his rule the famous mosque and *madrassa* in Gazna were built. This construction cost a lot to the population. According to sources, the marble tiles and other expensive types of stones which were laid in the courtyard of the mosque complex in Gazna were carried by hand by the construction workers from far off places. Even annual expenses on the maintenance of the famous garden of Mahmud in Balkh were completely borne by the population of this town.

Mahmud divided the people of the country into two categories: the armed forces and the civilian population. He paid salaries to the troops and demanded of them strict execution of every order. From

the civilian population he demanded unconditional implementation of his order besides payment of state taxes.

The Sultan was a big miser and extortionist. All the riches that were extorted by him, through all possible means in India and different regions of the country, were preserved by him in the treasury. Historian Mirkhond (XV.) gives an interesting account testifying to the miserliness and greed of Mahmud Gaznavid: "They say, two days before his death the Sultan ordered to bring from the treasury sacks full of silver *dirhams* and bags of gold *dinars*, beautiful precious stones of different kinds and various rare and precious things which were collected by him during his rule and to arrange them on a wide square which looked like flower bed to the viewers decorated with different colours—red, yellow, violet and others. The Sultan looked at them with pity and loudly sobbed, and after a long sob ordered them to be taken back to the treasury and from these riches he did not give even a penny to those who deserved it..."⁵

Mahmud Gaznavid camouflaged his marauding wars by the slogan of *gazavat* (holy war), to which he had the support of the Caliph, and recruited to his army a large number of fanatic Muslims—the fighters for the Faith; having declared himself as a follower of Sunnism, he fought against all manifestations of discontent and against all movements directed against the feudal regime which were mainly expressed in the forms of heretic ideas of the Karmats, Ismailites, Shiites and other religious schools. He confiscated the property of the supporters of these movements and in this manner concentrated in his hands even more riches. Thus his faithfulness to Muslim orthodoxy was nothing more than the means for consolidation of his power and increase of his riches.

Mahmud Gaznavid gave big importance to state intelligence. Apart from the secret agents, who were appointed to look after each ruler, under Mahmud there was a special officer whose duty was to provide information about the internal situation, movements and moods of the local rulers. Sultan Mahmud appointed secret agents even to spy upon his own children

5. Rauzat-as-Safa, p. 38.

including the successor to the throne, Masud. But Masud also had his secret informers in the court of his father.

Mahmud Gaznavid relied on a large army, well-organised and well equipped. He had many battle elephants, stone throwing machines were used during siege of fortresses and during crossing of rivers floating bridges were built. Large contingent of troops of Sultan consisted of the slaves—*ghulams*—who were bought and specially taught military skills. The detachments of slaves, consisted of Turks and soldiers from other nationalities, among whom were many Tajiks.⁶

Undoubtedly he was a great military commander of his time and was quite an energetic and tough ruler. Taking care of the external grandeur of his state, Mahmud constructed magnificent buildings and patronized court poets and scholars. But he did nothing for the development of agriculture. During his rule agriculture fell into decline. The economic links between separate regions weakened. After the death of Mahmud (1030 A.D.), instability of the state created by him became particularly apparent.

Seljuks and the Collapse of the State of the Gaznavids

In accordance with Mahmud's will a group of state dignitaries headed by Hajib declared his son Mohammad as the king. His elder son Masud opposed this. Having blinded Mohammad and imprisoning him and his children in the fortress, Masud took power in his hands.

During Masud's reign (1030-1041 A.D.) who in his greed and extortion surpassed his father, the looting of the population reached its peak. The rulers of the different regions looted the people, extorted bribes and imposed illegal taxes. Masud not only did not fight with the abuse of power but himself also got through it large revenues.

Continuing the policy of his father, Masud tried to keep good-neighbourly relations with the Karakhanids. The following letter of the Khwarezm Shah Altuntash which he wrote to Masud in 1030 A.D. clearly shows the essence of these relations: "The late

6. For information about arming and organization of the troops of Mahmud Gaznavid and his successors see: Bosworth S.E., 1960; 1963, pp. 98-128.

Amir Mahmud Gaznavid tried hard to make Qadir Khan the ruler and to consolidate his power. And now it should be strengthened to make this friendship unbreakable. They are not real friends but friendship for display would be preserved and they would not resort to any instigation.”⁷

Khwarezm, which nominally was dependent on the Gaznavids but actually existed as an independent state, played a significant role in the fate of the state of the Gaznavids. After the death of Altuntash, Masud, though he took measures to limit the rights of the king of Khwarezm, left the country in the hands of his successors. Masud conferred the title of Khwarezm Shah on his own son and the son of Altuntash-Kharun was made the ruler of Khwarezm with the title of vice-regent. However, Kharun, having established friendly relationship with the Karakhanid Ali-tegin and with the Seljuks, declared Khwarezm independent in 1034 A.D. and banned the mention of the name of the Gaznavid Sultan during the prayers. In the spring of 1035 A.D. Kharun moved his troops to Khorasan. The sons of Ali-tegin (he himself died in 1034 A.D.), supporting actions of Kharun, also intruded the territory of the Gaznavids. But when at the very beginning of the campaign, Kharun was killed by his slaves bought over by Masud, the sons of Ali-tegin returned to Samarkand. Masud started peaceful negotiations with the Karakhanids. As a result of this friendly and kinship, relations were established. Thus the threat to the state of the Gaznavid from the side of Khwarezm and the Karakhanids was averted through diplomatic means.

In the same year (1035 A.D.) Masud had to attack the Turk Seljuks who were coming to Khorasan. During the struggle of Mahmud, with the Karakhanids for Maverannahr, one of the groups of Seljuks got his permission to settle in northern Khorasan. Longing of the Seljuks for freeing themselves from oppressive taxation and obtaining new lands and pastures compelled them many times to rise in rebellions. The struggle between the Seljuks of Khorasan and the Gaznavid government initially continued in success alternately. In 1035 A.D. a new attack of the Seljuks on Khorasan started. Masud sent a large force

7. Beikhaki, 1962, p. 108.

against the Seljuks from Nisapur to Nisa. In the beginning of the battle the Gaznavid troops won, but at night time the Seljuks attacked their camp and inflicted a heavy defeat.

Subsequently, the Seljuks delivered several more forceful blows on the Gaznavids and seized a considerable part of Khorasan, including Nisapur. After that Masud collected a large army and led the campaign himself. A decisive battle was fought in the spring of 1040 A.D. near Dandenakan.

As a result of this battle (according to sources one of the bloodiest battles in the history of the peoples of Central Asia) the domination of the Gaznavids over Khorasan ended, forever. After the battle was over the leader of the Seljuks, Togrul, put the throne on the field, ascended it and declared himself the supreme ruler of Khorasan.⁸

It is noteworthy to mention that the city elite of Merv and Nisapur, whose interests had suffered at the hands of the Gaznavids, gave the Seljuks considerable support.

Sultan Masud crossed the river Merverud and reached Gazna. However, he did not risk to recruit soldiers here to fight against the Seljuks. It was clear to him that he would not find wide support in Maverannahr and Khorasan. Neither the elite, who were against centralisation nor the population of Khorasan and Tokharistan which became impoverished due to the tax burden, nor the people of the neighbouring Gazna, Seistan and the mountainous country Gur, did have a desire to defend the state of the Gaznavids. Vivid confirmation of this fact was the flight of the crowds of soldiers which Masud saw with his own eyes in the battle near Dandenakan. That is why he decided to go to India quickly and to collect there a strong army in order to halt the advance of the Seljuks with its help.

Beikhaki informs that Masud, prior to his departure for India, wrote a letter to Arslan-khan with the request for help against the Seljuks. Later he ordered to free from imprisonment his brother Mohammad with whom he wanted to go to India. The supporters of Mohammad having come to an agreement among themselves attacked Masud, arrested him, declared Mohammad Sultan and executed Masud several days later (1041 A.D.).

8. About this battle there is a special article: Zakhoder B.N., 1943.

The son of Sultan Masud, Mavdud, on coming to know about the execution of his father reached Gazna in April of the same year and declared himself Sultan. In the battle near Dinur (Fatahabad) he defeated the troops of Mohammad and executed him and all his children.

Mavdud succeeded not only in suppressing the opposition of his brothers, who tried to possess power, but also to keep Gazna in his hands and also Termez and Balkh. Soon after this he collected a strong army in India and dispatched it against the Seljuks in Khorasan. But the Seljuks defeated this force of Sultan of Gaznavid as well. At last Mavdud entered into an alliance with the kings of India, Turkestan and other neighbouring countries and in 1049-1050 A.D. proceeded to Khorasan with a large force. However, on the way he got sick, was forced to go back to Gazna and he died there.

In 1059 A.D. the Seljuks captured Balkh and by this act severed the links between Maverannahr and the Gaznavid state. After this the Gaznavid dynasty started losing its might, day by day. At the end of the 12th century the last Gaznavid sultan was taken prisoner by the troops of the Gur—the new state in Afghanistan, which emerged at the end of 11th and beginning of 12th century.

The State of the Gurids

In medieval times Gur was the name of the mountainous country on the upper parts of the river Harirud, which spread from Herat to Bamyān and the borders of Kabul and Gazna. From the west, north and east, the Gur bordered with the lands inhabited predominantly by the Tajiks. The bulk of the population of Gur consisted of mountainous Tajik tribes.

In Gur, land cultivation and cattle breeding was widely developed for which the climatic conditions, particularly abundance of water, were favourable.

Authors from the 10th-12th centuries, describing the country of Gur, relate about cultivated fields surrounding settlements, about the abundance of vineyards and fruit orchards, about large flocks of cattle grazing in mountains and foothills.

Mining and metallurgy work attained a high level of development for its times. The weapons and military armour from Gur were widely known and were exported.

The author of the 13th century, Juzjani, hailing from Gur writes in his chronicle of history about the division of the population of Gur of the 9th-10th centuries in tribes hostile to one another. He writes that one *Kyoshk*⁹ was in a state of war with another one and people lived in constant hostility with each other.¹⁰ In Gur, slavery also existed. About this the information of the author of the 10th century indirectly testifies on the export of slaves from Gur."¹¹

During a long period of time in Gur, the remnants of military democracy were preserved.

By the end of 10th century, the separate, independent from each other, regions of Gur were governed by small rulers (Arabic-speaking authors call them "malik", that is king). These "maliks" remained mainly clan-tribal leaders and only sometimes their power extended to several tribes. Among the Gurs a tradition, going back into distant past, was prevalent, when at the helm of the region there were two leaders having equal powers—one of them was the ruler (king) and the other a military leader.¹²

The feudal relations started forming later than in Maverannahr and Khorasan. Semi-patriarchal and semi-feudal relations were characteristic of Gur of the 10th-11th centuries. The rulers of separate regions becoming feudals had their own title in every region. In the region of Mandesh they were called "malik" or "mehtar" (later Gurshah), in the regions of Tamran and Tamazan — "varanda"; in Varmishan — "varmishpat", etc.

Islam was penetrating Gur extremely slowly, the same way as in other mountainous Tajik regions. Arab Caliphs could not subdue this mountainous country. Its freedom loving population defended for long their ancient faiths and even in the middle of the 11th century were tribes not accepting Islam were existing.

9. The fortifications and towers in the clan-commune settlement.

10. Juzjani, translation by Raverti, p. 318.

11. Hudud al-Alam, 1930, p. 216.

12. See F. Engels, About two leaders among Irokez under influence of military democracy, (K. Marx and F. Engels, Soch, T. 21, pp. 96-129.

As in the entire Central Asia, the establishment of feudalism in Gur was followed by a fierce class struggle.

In 907 A.D., the popular uprisings of the Karmats and the Mazdakits in the vicinity of Herat and Gur took place. Nizam al-Mulk (11th century) writes the following about it: "In the foothills of Gur and Garjistan a person called Bu-Bilal came to the fore. Around him gathered people of different strata... A large number of people from the region of Herat and its vicinity gather around him and offer allegiance to him; their number is more than tens of thousands...the rebels appear in the foothills of Herat, they openly declare their allegiance to the faith of the heretics and the Karmats, mostly they are shepherds and cultivators".¹³ The uprising was ruthlessly suppressed by the troops of Ismail and Samanids. According to the sources, such uprisings occurred in various places of Gur many times.

By the end of the 11th century the feudal relations were established in Gur. In the second half of the 11th and first half of the 12th century the "maliks" of the region of Mandesh, from the house of Suri, had spread their power over the entire Gur. By the middle of the 12th century the feudal state of the Gurids was formed."¹⁴

The rulers of Gur were sometimes compelled to nominally recognize the supreme power of the Gaznavids but during many decades they had been fighting them.

Taking advantage of the weakening of the Gaznavid state the rulers of Gur restored their independence. During the rule of Kutb ad-Din Mahmud, the Gurids were powerful. That is why Bahramshah (one of the last Gaznavid Sultans) fearing the attempts of the Gurids and popularity of Kutb ad-Din Mahmud lured him to Gazna by deceit, put him in prison and then poisoned him.

However, Bahramshah could not succeed in subduing Gur. Between Bahramshah Gaznavid and brothers of Kutb ad-Din, several fierce battles took place in which Bahramshah was always invariably defeated. In the last battle Sultan Ala ad-Din Gurid

13. Nizam al-Mulk, 1949, pp. 218-219.

14. Bosworth S.E., 1961; 1968a pp. 159-166; Masson B.M., Romodin B.A., 1964, pp. 255-265.

crushed the troops of Bahramshah and forced him to flee. Gazna was destroyed by Ala ad-Din (1150-1151 A.D.)

But the struggle between Gaznavids and Gurids did not end here. In 1186/1187, in one of the battles Gurid Giyas ad-Din Muhammad, the nephew of Ala ad-Din took the last Gaznavid, the ruler of Lahore, Khusrau-Malik as prisoner and sent him to the capital of Gur, Firuzkukh. In this manner the domination of the Gaznavids was completely smashed. Having defeated Gaznavids the Gurids became the rulers of a large state, the frontiers of which they soon considerably extended by their further conquests. The nucleus of their state was Gur.

The Gurids sultans represented in themselves large power. They had at their disposal a considerably large army which incorporated in itself tribal detachments. Besides this they had the support of the Tajik feudal elites of the mountainous regions of Badakhshan and the basin of the Amu Daria. By the end of 12th century the Gurids annexed to their possessions the southern regions of present Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, especially the regions of Vakhsh, Chaganyan, Shugnan and Vakhsh.

The 1152-1206 period is the brightest period of the history of the state of the Gurids. At this time a great economic and cultural upsurge could be noticed. But this did not last long. The backwardness of Gur in comparison with the other regions of Central Asia had its adverse effect.

Seljukids and Nizam al-Mulk

The battle near Dandenakan, which took place in 1040 A.D. and which decided the fate of state of Gaznavids, led to full possession of Khorasan by the Seljukids.¹⁵

After this victory Togrul-bek Seljukid (1040-1063) declared himself Sultan and after leaving his brother in Khorasan proceeded with his troops towards Gurgan. During a short span of time he seized not only Gurgan, Tabaristan, Khwarezm and Azerbaijan but also a part of the western regions of present Iran. In 1055 A.D. he

15. Bart'old V.V., 1963b, pp. 569-583; Zakhoder B.N., 1945. The subsequent history of the Seljukids is given in detail in the work: Bosworth S.E. 1968a.

also captured the capital of the Abbasid Caliphs, Baghdad, and officially declared the state of the Seljukids as Sultanate. After this Togrul captured Kerman and Fars and crushed the Byzantine troops in the Caucasus.

After the death of Togrul his nephew Alp-Arslan (1063-1072) ascended the throne and considerably extended the frontiers of the state of the Seljukids. Alp-Arslan possessed several localities of Maverannahr. He completely defeated the Byzantine Emperor, Roman IV Diogen.

During the rule of Jalaladin Malik-Shah (1072-1092) the state of the Seljukids occupied the territory from the coast of the Mediterranean sea upto the borders of the Chinese Empire in the East. However, after the death of Malik-Shah the Seljukid state disintegrated into actually independent kingdoms and states.

In the 12th century the capital of the state of the Seljukids, which was ruled by Sanjar (1118-1157 A.D.), was Merv—a large trading and industrial state, the territories of which were served by a developed system of irrigation. Merv was also one of the largest cultural centres of that time. Thus wrote Yakut: "When I was leaving Merv there were in it ten storehouses for books relating to *waqfs*, I have never seen anything like them in the world—in abundance and perfect upkeep of the books preserved there."¹⁶

In their cultural growth the nomadic Seljuks were lower than the people of Maverannahr and Khorasan and were defeated by them. Such Seljuk rulers, as Togrul and Alp-Arslan, were even illiterate. As a result a big role in the government apparatus of the Seljukids was played by political figures from among Persians, Tajiks, settled Turks, etc. As always happens in such cases the conquerors were influenced by the defeated, but more cultured people.

The outstanding state figure of the Seljukid period was the native of Khorasan—Abu Ali Hasan ibn-Ab ibn-Ishak. During almost thirty years (1063-1092 A.D.) that he served as *vazir* under Alp-Arslan and Malik-Shah, he had unlimited authority in the court of these rulers, particularly Malik-Shah, and obtained the title of Nizam al-Mulk (the order of the state). Nizam al-Mulk was

16. Yakut, T. IV, p. 509.

an intelligent and educated man. In organising the rule of the country, he took help of the practice of the Samanid period and tried to revive its cultural traditions.

Thanks mainly to the activity of Nizam al-Mulk, the system of the state of the Seljukids was brought to order. All historical sources unanimously confirm that the period of the rule of the Seljukids was to some extent a period of peaceful development and upsurge of feudal economy and trade. The cities grew and in them the number of craftsmen organized in workshops also grew.

However, the condition of the toiling masses during the rule of Nizam al-Mulk remained quite hard. With the aim of fighting the unlimited exploitation of peasants by the feudals from which revenues of the state suffered ultimately, Nizam al-Mulk was compelled to suggest to the Seljuk rulers some measures which curbed the arbitrariness of the military commanders and the *ikhtadars* in order to prevent the complete pauperisation of the people leading to the undermining of domination of the feudals themselves.

Nizam al-Mulk took energetic measures to achieve the centralization of power. It was impossible without creation of a bureaucratic apparatus and the presence of literate people. Nizam al-Mulk was an ardent supporter of higher theological educational institutions — *madrasas*. Such educational institutions got the name of *nizamiya*, in honour of this state leader; they were opened in many cities including Baghdad, Nisapur, Herat, Balkh, Merv, etc. The syllabus of the Baghdad *nizamiya* included along with the study of Koran, Hadis and other scholastic disciplines as also jurisprudence, Arabic language and literature and mathematics, etc. The task of the *madrasas* was to bring up the representatives of bureaucratic strata in the spirit of Muslim orthodoxy and to bring its unity and merger with the Muslim clergy. Besides, the graduates of the *madrasas* used to implement the religious control over the masses diverting them from Ismailism.¹⁷

Nizam al-Mulk also took measures for the development of external trade, trying to abolish high taxes which hampered its development.

17. Tritton, A.S., 1957 p. 102; Makdisi S., 1961; Tibawi A.L. 1962.

Some historians project Nizam al-Mulk as a sort of fighter for well-being of the people. Of course, he never was such a person. If some of his measures restricted to some extent arbitrariness of the military commanders and feudals, if he bothered to establish *madrasas*, this was all done with a view to strengthening the power of the Seljukids and increasing the flow of revenue into the state treasury.

The strengthening of the system of *ikta*, first of all took care of the interests of the aristocracy of the Seljuk Turks. Because of this system the main state revenue fell into the hands of the members of the Seljukid family every one of whom owned the city or region with a developed agriculture and used their revenues for personal needs. The rest of the relatives of the Seljukid Sultans and military commanders also owned the entire settlements and even regions. All this naturally caused resentment among local feudals who lost a considerable part of their revenues with the coming to power of the Seljukids.

The Ismailite Movement

The movement of the Ismailites¹⁸, almost for four hundred years, played a significant role in the history of Central Asia and Iran. F. Engels wrote: "The revolutionary opposition to feudalism runs through the entire medieval times. It appears depending on the conditions of the time either in the form of mysticism or as an open heresy or as armed uprising."¹⁹ All these three forms are characteristic of the Ismailite movement in its different stages.

In the 8th century the Ismailites were a small mystic Shia sect, the followers of the seventh descendent of Ali and Fatima—of Imam Ismail who was disowned by his father, Jafar Sadiq.

At the end of the 9th century, during the Karmat uprising²⁰, the Ismailites succeeded in capturing political power in Magrib and the leadership of the sect stood at the helm of the strong feudal state with capital in Cairo (since 974 A.D.)—the Fatimid Caliphate during two hundred years.

18. On Ismailism see for details: Belyaev E.A., 1957; Bertels A.E., 1959; Petrushevskii I.P., 1966.

19. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch.* Vol. 7, p. 361.

20. On the Ismailites and the Karmats see: Stern S.M., 1961–1962.

In the 10th-11th centuries Ismailism in the form of heresy, opposing the orthodox Sunni Islam, became widespread in the entire Middle East particularly in Central Asia and Iran. The Ismailites, using Greek philosophy, developed the entire system of rationalistic teachings attracting to their side the intelligentsia, many outstanding state figures and thinkers. In Khorasan and Maverannahr, which were distant from Egypt by months of caravan routes, the Fatimid Caliphs were declared the rulers "who will fill up the land with justice", and many people believed this trick of the Ismailite preachers.

At the end of the 11th century the Ismailites of Central Asia and Iran broke up with the Fatimid Caliphate, which was heading for its downfall. At their head stood Hasan ibn-Sabbah (1054/1055-1124 A.D.). In Isfahan in the district of Kazvin and other regions popular uprisings broke out. A small Ismailite state was created with centre in the fortress of Alamut (Deilem region). With the help of several fortresses, captured by them, the Ismailites created a strong secret terrorist organisation which was directed against the Seljuk rulers. They got the fame as being smart and brave terrorists. The aristocrats were so fearful of the Ismailite daggers that they constantly wore a chain armour under their clothes.

In October 1092 the Ismailites killed Nizam al-Mulk. Later they succeeded in scaring Sultan Sanjar who gave up the idea of a military campaign against Ismailite fortresses.²¹

Naturally, the Ismailite movement which continued in the 10th-13th centuries in a feudal society with its mixed interlacing of state and classes could not be homogenous in class terms. The main force of the "war of Zinjas" and Karmat uprising was first of all the Negro slaves and the peasant share-croppers and also the

21. The Mongol invasion delivered a deadly blow to the Ismailite state. In 1256 A.D. Alamut was overthrown and the head of Ismailites — Khurshah — was killed. After this the Ismailites could not attain political dominance anywhere. Till present times in India and other countries a secluded Ismailite religious sect has been preserved. (on the history of medieval Ismailite movement and its state there are many research works. See, particularly, Hodgson M.G.S., 1955; Lewis B., 1966; Hodgson M.G.S., 1968).

Bedouin tribes. However, the achievements of this period were used by the elite—the slave-owners in the Karmat state of Bahrain and feudals in Egypt, under the power of the Fatimids. In the entire Ismailite movement of the 9th–11th centuries it is necessary to differentiate the spontaneity of peasants and lower strata of the city from the political intrigues of top aristocracy who constantly deceived people.

There were different trends in the Ismailite movement. During the uprisings, in which broad popular masses of peasants and the urban poor participated, there appeared Mazdakit slogans of equality of property, justice and protest against oppression. In the period of existence of Ismailite organization, as a secret society with several stages of initiation into the theory of Ismailism, rational philosophy was skillfully interwoven.

The Ismailite teaching on the whole was a form of protest against Muslim orthodoxy which had forbidden during the period of Seljuk dominance, not only the free interpretation of Koran in the theological questions, but also in scientific research in the sphere of mathematics, astronomy and medicine.

The progressive features of Ismailite ideology of the 10th–11th centuries is necessary to define in a concrete historical manner in the background of harsh reality of that period. The courage of the Ismailite preachers is worthy of respect. They spread their “knowledge”, including the rationalistic one and exact sciences, notwithstanding their fierce persecution.

The role of Ismailism of the 9th–10th centuries, in support of the tradition of free thinking, is beyond doubt. It is not accidental that many medieval Muslim orthodox authors (an-Nadim, Abdal Kahir Bagdadi, Ibn Hajm, Nizam al-Mulk) call Ismailites the most fierce enemies of Islam; its destroyers. But the common Ismailites were naively thinking that they were “struggling for the purity of Islam”. The attempt under the guise of “purification of religion” to usher in the levelling ideas is characteristic of many popular heresies of the medieval times.

Karakhanids

The history of Central Asia during the Karakhanid rule has not yet been adequately studied. Written sources inform only partially

about the development of the political events and domestic administration of the Karakhanid state. Historians always placed large hopes on the study of the Karakhanid coins. But the Karakhanid coins, as historical source, are very complicated and difficult for research and call for great caution. During the last decades the Karakhanid numismatics has made large progress, having resolved several disputable and at times even unexplored questions of history of Central Asia of the 11th-12th centuries. However, not all the new results and hypotheses of historians and numismatists appear convincing and undisputed. In this field a large work is still to be done; many new discoveries and revision of some conceptions is awaited.

In presenting an account of the political history of the Karakhanids, we have drawn upon the famous works of V.V. Bart'old, which are an unprecedented example of critical analysis and synthesis of fragmentary and often contradictory information in written sources. We have also used some convincing results of numismatists enabling to clarify and make addition to the data in the written sources.

The origin of the dynasty itself is not clear; the names which are given to it in the literature (Karakhanids and more seldom Ileks) are completely conditional, constructed by historians from two widely spread titles: Karakhan and Ilek. Perhaps the nucleus of the state of the Karakhanid were the Turkish tribes, Yagma and Chigili, which finds confirmation in the list of titles of the early Karakhanids. The highest titles among them were first Arslan-Khan ("Arslan"—lion—is a totem of the Chigil) and Bogra-Khan ("Bogra"—camel—is a totem of Yagma).²² Around the middle of the 10th century Islam became the state religion of the Karakhanids. By the time of conquest of Central Asia, dominant position among the Karakhanids was occupied by Ali and Hasan Bogra-Khan; Hasan Bogra-Khan, as was mentioned earlier, headed the campaign against Maverannahr in 992 A.D.; Nasr ibn-Ali conquered this region completely. These two families—descendents of Ali ("Alids") and of Hasan Bogra-Khan

22. For information about the origin of the dynasty see: Pritsak O., 1953, pp. 21-22.

(“Hasanids”) — were already, since the 10th century, most influential and powerful, possessing large territories.

The state of the Karakhanids was on the whole divided at this time in many territories, the borders of these territories did not remain unchanged, their rulers had big rights even upto the minting of coins in their name. The small rulers changed territories and suzerains also. The relations of vassalage were sometimes multi-stage. The political history was full of complexities of internecine struggles.²³

The Political dominance was initially exercised by “Alids”, descendents of Ali. After the conquest of Maverannahr a large territory came into their hands: on the west and south, it bordered the state of the Gaznavids along the Amu Daria, on the east, Tugan-Khan, the elder brother of Nasr possessed Kashgar and the heads of the dynasty during this period of time were also different representatives of the family of “Alids”.²⁴

However, very soon the achievements of the second family, Hasanids came to the fore and they started pushing the Alids from the East. According to numismatic data the son of Hasan Bogra-Khan, Yusuf Qadir-Khan by 1005 A.D. was in possession of Kashgar, having driven away from there Tugan-Khan.²⁵

Gradually the family of the Hasanids had become so strong that after the death of the sons of Ali the honorific title and high ranks of the heads of the dynasty switched over to them. Since 1026/27 A.D. Yusuf Qadir-Khan appeared as the head of the dynasty. In diplomatic relations, too, he was mentioned as such. After his death (1032 A.D.) his son Suleiman succeeded him who

23. Questions of titles and feudal hierarchy and also all other numismatic data for the early history of the Karakhanids are examined in detail in the works: Vasmer R., 1930; Pritsak O., 1953; Feodorov M.N., 1965.

24. However, among the scholars there is no single view about who among the sons of Ali and during which period of time was considered the head of the dynasty and was the carrier of the highest titles. The difficulty in resolving this questions is undoubtedly also the fact that the formal place in feudal hierarchy and actual power and influence did not often coincide — which is ignored by some researchers.

25. Vasmer R., 1930, pp. 93-94; Davidovich E.A., 1968a, pp. 70-71. V.V. Bart'old (1963b p. 343) did not know about these coins. That is why he has completely different data.

took the title of Arslan-Khan and was considered the head of the Karakhanids. The centres of his territory were the cities of Balasagun and Kashgar. His brother Mohammad, who took the second significant title of Bogra-Khan, possessed Isfijab and Taras.²⁶ Hence the achievements of this family were reflected not only in formal recognition of their dynastic headship. Gradually they pushed "Alids" more and more and captured new regions. Even Fargana—the indigenous possession of the "Alids" (the capital of Nasr ibn-Ali, the conqueror of Maverannahr, was the city of Uzgend in Fargana)—appeared in the sphere of influence of Yusuf Qadir-Khan and particularly his two sons—Suleiman Arshan-Khan and Mohammad Bogra-Khan.²⁷

Maverannahr which was conquered by Nasr ibn-Ali now also went back to the Hasanids. Bukhara and the whole of central Maverannahr was captured by Ali-tegin, the brother of Yusuf Qadir-Khan before 1025 A.D.²⁸ There was no peace and accord between the brothers. Perhaps Qadir-Khan was fearful of Ali-tegin becoming stronger. The Gaznavid ruler Mahmud was also scared of it. That is why they undertook a join campaign against Maverannahr in 1025 A.D.²⁹ The meeting of the two famous rulers of their time, which was followed by grand receptions and exchange of rich presents, ended in the decision to take away Maverannahr from Ali-tegin (in favour of Qadir-Khan) and also to become relatives. Both these decisions were not implemented. Mahmud considered it dangerous to strengthen Qadir-Khan to such an extent. Ali-tegin for a long time ruled over Maverannahr taking the big title "Tamgach Bogra-Khan"³⁰ and was completely independent from his relatives. Interestingly, the Gaznavids later also were very fearful of Ali-tegin. In the Gaznavid court he was

26. Bart'old V.V., 1963b, p. 357.

27. Markov A.K., 1896, pp. 246, 256, 348, 401; Vasmer R., 1930, p. 95; Davidovich E.A., 1968b, pp. 69-74 and the table 1-2.

28. The affiliation of Ali-tegin to the family of Hasanids has been established by O. Pritsak, (Pritsak O., 1950, pp. 216-224).

29. For details of this campaign and its political results see: Bart'old, V.V., 1963b, p. 344 onwards.

30. The belonging of this title to Ali-tegin (and not to his suzerain as V.V. Bart'old thought) was proved convincingly by R. Vasmer (see: Vasmer, R., 1939, pp. 96-97)

considered as dangerous, treacherous and shrewd opponent from whom it was necessary to guard the border region of the state very carefully. That is why Masud Gaznavid decided to get rid of Ali-tegin for which purpose in 1032 A.D., on his order, Khwarezm Shah Altuntash undertook the campaign against Maverannahr. Ali-tegin left Bukhara for tactical reasons. Although the city was captured by Altuntash, the main battle was fought in other places. Altuntash was badly wounded, they were compelled to make an agreement with Ali-tegin, and the troops of Khwarezm left Maverannahr.

Ali-tegin did not give up the idea of winning over from the Gaznavids the territory lying near Amu Daria. He found his ally in the person of new Shah of Khwarezm Haroon who was wronged by the Gaznavids. The joint campaign was undertaken after the death of Ali-tegin (1034 A.D.) by his sons. They captured the region of Chaganyan, besieged the city of Termez but were forced to retreat as they were not supported by the army of Khwarezm because the Shah of Khwarezm Haroon was killed.

Later the relations between the sons of Ali-tegin and Masud Gaznavid were adjusted outwardly.

During this considerably long period of large political achievements of the "Hasanids", when they possessed both the western as well as eastern regions of the Karakhanid state, nothing is known about the "Alids" from the written sources. Coins show that Mohammad and Ibrahim, the two sons of Nasr (conqueror of Maverannahr), were only independent rulers of the small principalities, having the rights of vassals of whosoever was more significant member of the dynasty. In the beginning Mohammad ibn-Nasr (according to written sources known as Ain ad-Daula) was in a better situation. He possessed different cities and districts in Fargana, more often Uzgend (the former capital of his father), sometimes Akhsiket, Khojent and later Kuba. But almost always on his coins above his name the name of his suzerain was mentioned.³¹

In the forties of the 11th century the most significant place in the political arena was occupied by Ibrahim ibn-Nasr. In his youth

31. Davidovich E.A., 1968b, pp. 67-74.

he carried the humble title of Buritegin, possessed a small territory and later was imprisoned by the sons of Ali-tegin. He fled from the prison to his brother in Uzgend, but did not get on well with him, collected the troops and in 1038 A.D. entered the regions of Khuttalyan and Vakhsh and then Chaganyan. Although all these regions were within the sphere of influence of Gaznavid Masud, the latter preoccupied with struggle against the Seljuks was compelled to reconcile with the appearance of Buritegin in his territories. Besides this he expected that the animosity between Buritegin and the Karakhanids of Maverannahr (sons of Ali-tegin) would secure him from this side and he would not need to fight on two fronts.

However, the regions near the Amu Daria river were just the springboard for Buritegin. From here he started the conquest of Maverannahr and soon succeeded in it. It is not accidental that after the first successes in his struggle against the sons of Alitegin, he changed his title: instead of the humble title of Buritegin, he took the high title of Tamgach Bogra-Khan³² (which before him was taken by Ali-tegin in Maverannahr), and also another quite respectable title, Muaiid al-Adl, which before him was carried by his father and brother. By 1041 A.D. he already possessed the entire Maverannahr. Gaznavid Masud who just before this in the battle near Dandenkan (1040 A.D.) was defeated by the Seljuks and had reconciled with the elevation of Ibrahim ibn-Nasr and even thought of encouraging him further in order to get in his person a good ally.

32. The question of the belonging of the title of Tamgach Bogra-Khan in this period has a principal and not a formal significance: this is a question about the time and ways of formation of the independent state of the Karakhanids in Maverannahr. V.V. Bart'old (1963b p. 367) and R. Vasmer (Vasmer R., 1930, pp. 97-98) presumed that this title belonged to the suzerains of Buritegin (however as suzerains they name two different persons). O. Pritsak (Pritsak O., 1950, p. 222, 224) came out with an assumption and E.A. Davidovich (1970b) proved that this title belonged to Buritegin himself (that is, the latter did not consider himself as the vassal of the Eastern Karakhanids) and was adopted by him not later than 1040 A.D., before the final conquest of Maverannahr.

Ibrahim Tamgach Bogra-Khan pursued a fully independent foreign policy and did not recognise the Eastern Karakhanids as his suzerain. During his rule in Maverannahr the independent state of the Karakhanids, with its capital in Samarkand, was formed.³³ Soon after this (in the beginning of second half of the 11th century) Ibrahim ibn-Nasr seized Fargana as well, which earlier was in the sphere of influence of the Eastern Karakhanids.

The domestic policy of Ibrahim Tamgach-khan is also very interesting. To go by the stories given in the sources, Ibrahim Tamgach-khan, to some extent, cared about the security, peace and needs of his subjects and was quite popular among the masses. Particularly harsh was his punishment for encroachments on property. The sources contain several accounts about this. The bandits once scribbled on the gates of the Samarkand citadel: "We are like onions. The more they cut us the more we grow." Ibrahim Tamgach-khan ordered to write: "I stand here like a gardener. How ever much you may grow, I would uproot you." He succeeded in uprooting theft in the state. He also took care of the rise in market prices. An interesting story is narrated: Once the butchers asked for an increase in the price of meat offering one thousand *dinars* to the treasury. The Khan gave his consent, took money, but forbade people to buy meat. The butchers had to pay once more for restoring the old price.³⁴

According to numismatic data it is known³⁵ that he undertook other measures also for improving the conditions of trade. For example, in Fargana, before him the basis of the monetary circulation were the coins called *dirhams*. But they did not contain silver at all and were minted from melted lead and copper. Besides, they were of such different sizes and weights that they circulated not by piece but by weight which very much

33. The outwardly well-constructed concept of O. Pritsak (Pritsak O., 1950, pp. 227-228) about an independent Fargana, headed by Mohammad ibn-Nasr, about the time and ways of formation of the two Karakhanid states — the Western state with centre in Uzgend and the Eastern state with centre in Balasagun is in complete contradiction with facts (see Davidovich E.A., 1958b, pp. 67-75).

34. Bart'old V.V., 1963b, pp. 374-376.

35. Davidovich E.A., 1968b, p. 76.

complicated the trade transactions. Ibrahim abolished these coins and introduced in Fargana a mint of *dirhams* of regular round form made from alloy of silver and copper: his coins circulated by pieces which created more favourable conditions for monetary trade.

Although such measures did not decrease feudal oppression, they certainly obstructed its increase. Under conditions of a feudal state even this was a considerably progressive phenomenon.

The same policy was to some extent pursued by Shems al-Mulk Nasr, Hizr and Ahmad, two sons, and grandson of Ibrahim Tamgach-khan.

The relations between these Karakhanid rulers and the clergy is an interesting, but not yet adequately studied, page of the history of Central Asia. But this question has to be examined as a part and link of their domestic policy. The sources call Ibrahim Tamgach-khan, as well as other rulers, ardent Muslims and pious persons who treated the clergy, particularly its individual representatives, with respect. Nevertheless, during the reign of almost each of these rulers, large conflicts took place with the clergy, followed even by executions and murders.

O.G. Bolshakov noted that the "subjects" who were persecuted by, for example, Ahmad, and whose property he confiscated, were the top of the feudal society. It is significant that alongwith the clergy, the feudal elite of the nomads were also among them.³⁶ There is no basis to consider it as a simple idealisation, affirmation by the sources of the big popularity of some of these khans in the masses, and their fame as just rulers, etc.

Behind these scattered facts may be seen the purpose of the domestic policy. Obviously, these Karakhanid Khans were trying to centralise the state of the Central Asia Karakhanids. Naturally the feudal nomads and the clergy, who were dissatisfied by increase in the power of the Khans, became their foes. The confiscation of the property in conditions of such a struggle was one of the methods of economic weakening of the political enemies.

If Ibrahim Tamgach-khan expanded the borders of his state by incorporating some of the regions, his descendents in the

36. ITN, T. II, I, p. 239.

foreign political and military affairs appear to be less successful. From one side, during the rule of Shems al-Mulk Nasr, they were pushed by the Eastern Karakhanids. Fargana was again taken back by them and the border between the two Karakhanid states passed through Khojent. From the other side, it was during the reign of these rulers that the Seljukids undertook raids and military campaigns first against the separate far-flung regions of the state of the Karakhanids and then against the central Maverannahr.³⁷ At last in 1089 A.D. Seljukid Malik Shah took Bukhara and then Samarkand also. However, the Seljukids did not destroy the dynasty of the Karakhanids: they were contented with active intrusion in their affairs and appointment of the Khans from among the members of the Karakhanid dynasty. The only serious conflict took place in 1130 A.D. between Karakhanid Arslan-Khan and famous Seljukid Sultan Sanjar. About 30 years later in 1102 A.D., one of the Eastern Karakhanids seized Maverannahr and even proceeded towards the territory of the Seljukids but he died in the battle with Sultan Sanjar. After this Sultan Sanjar placed on the throne the great grandson of Ibrahim Tamgach-khan, Mohammad II Arslan-Khan. The latter ruled for about 30 years and became famous for his building activities. He, like his predecessor, had to fight against the clergy. When as a result of the intrigues of the clergy, his son and co-ruler was killed, he appealed for help to Sultan Sanjar. Sanjar approached Samarkand with a big army, but Arslan-khan already did not need his help because he himself could crush the enemies. According to the sources he even sent assassins to Sanjar. Sanjar seized Samarkand and overthrew Arslan-Khan and appointed Khans in his place who were faithful to him while preserving their independence in domestic affairs.

Karakhanids and Karakitais

In the beginning of the second quarter of the 12th century the numerous people of Kidans conquered Semirechiye with the city of Balasagun and established a large empire extending in the

37. About details of these events see: Bart'old V.V., 1963b, p. 379 onwards.

north-east upto the river Yenisei. Subsequently they joined the remaining territories of the Eastern Karakhanids and started posing a threat to the Western, *i.e.*, Maverannahr Karakhanids. Muslim authors, who wrote about the events of these years and about the political achievements of the Kidans, gave them the name of Karakitais.³⁸

In 1137 A.D. the Karakitais crushed Karakhanid Mahmud near Khojent. Mahmud was the faithful subject of Sultan Sanjar. He mentioned the latter's name as his suzerain even on his coins. However, Sultan Sanjar this time was unable to help Mahmud as he was busy fighting against Khwarezm. Yet the Karakitais could not take advantage of their victory.

But hardly a few years had gone by when, in a decisive battle, the Karakitais inflicted such a defeat on the joint forces of Karakhanid Mahmud and the Seljukid Sultan Sanjar that it became a landmark in the history of these three dynasties. This happened on 9 September 1141 A.D. in Katvan steppe near Samarkand. The Seljuk-Karakhanid troops were completely defeated, Sultan Sanjar and Mahmud retreated. As for the Karakitais, they captured Bukhara and the entire Central Maverannahr.

The alignment of political forces in Central Asia changed. The Karakitais did not eliminate the Karakhanid dynasty like the Seljukids. From now on the Karakhanids became the vassals of the Karakitais. The Karakhanids had to pay tribute to Gur Khan—the head of the Karakitai state. Sultan Sanjar, who was busy with his struggle against the Khwarezm Shah Atsyz (who became very active after the battle of Katvan and the defeat of Sanjar), did not even try to fight against the Karakitais to restore his former influence in Maverannahr.

The Karakitais did not interfere in the domestic affairs of the Karakhanids whose capital remained in the city of Balasagun. In the state of the Karakhanid the following situation was created. After the battle in Katvan steppe, in Samarkand for some time ruled the real brother of the fugitive Karakhanid Mahmud. As for

38. About the Karakitais and their relationship with the Karakhanids see: Bart'old V.V., 1963a, p. 48 onwards; 1963b, p. 386 onwards.

Fargana, it was in the hands of the “Hasanid” family, *i.e.*, the Eastern Karakhanids. However, beginning with the second half of the 12th century (1156 A.D.), the Fargana family of the Karakhanids firmly held Samarkand as well. From now on, after a long interval, Maverannahr appeared to be in the hands of the Eastern branch of the Karakhanids uniting under its powers the richest regions: Central Maverannahr and Fargana. However, it is necessary to note that Central Maverannahr and Fargana, in the second half of 12th and the beginning of 13th century, remained as two large independent principalities in the hands of different members of a single family. Samarkand (centre of the first territory) and Uzgend (centre of the second) systematically and abundantly, independent of each other, minted coins. Each city issued coins in the name of the head of its principality, usually with big titles. Even then Samarkand was simultaneously considered as the capital of the entire state and the principal ruler of Samarkand was a nominal head of the dynasty. It was in fact manifested that the titles of the Samarkand ruler were higher than the titles of the Fargana rulers.³⁹

Besides this, at this time also existed more small vassal rulers of independent principalities, but their political weight was not the same as in the 11th century. The rarity of the coins of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century which were minted as in the 11th century with the names of small rulers of independent principalities points to this fact. A special position was occupied by the *Sadrs* of Bukhara, a dynasty of representatives of the elite clergy. They carried the title of “Sadr-Jehan”—“the pillar of the world” and initially held the posts of higher clergy in the city and subsequently started interfering actively in the affairs of administration. The more influential among them, not only actually ruled Bukhara but also formally occupied the post of the rulers of the city. Their relations with the Samarkand Karakhanids were quite

39. About Fargana and Maverannahr in the second half of 12th century, chronology and genealogy of the heads of the dynasty (the rulers of independent Samarkand principality and the rulers of the Fargana principality) see: Davidovich E.A., 1957b, pp. 108-119.

complicated. Recognizing the higher power of the latter the *Sadrs* sometimes minted coins in their names. Sometimes the power in Bukhara completely passed on to the Karakhanids, in other cases on the contrary, the *Sadrs* were quite independent, themselves collected, the taxes for the Karakitais, became rich thanks to this, they widely used their power to increase their riches by all means.

Khwarezm and the State of the Seljukids

The victory of the Karakitais in 1141 A.D. weakened the Seljukids. The other key factor of this period, which witnessed the decline of the Seljukids, was the rise of Khwarezm as a political centre.

The head of the dynasty of the Khwarezm Shahs, Anush-tegin, was appointed a ruler of Khwarezm during the reign of Seljukid Malik Shah. After the death of Anush-tegin, his son Kutub-ad-Din Mohammad (1097-1127 A.D.), who took the title of Khwarezm Shah and was considered a faithful vassal of Sultan Sanjar, started ruling Khwarezm.

The real founder of the great state of the Khwarezm Shahs can be considered the son of Kutub ad-Din Mohammad—Atsyz (1127-1156 A.D.). He and his successors, taking advantage of every convenient opportunity, undertook all attempts in order to attain the independence of Khwarezm from the state of the Seljukids. In the first years of his reign, Atsyz was a subordinate of Sultan Sanjar and took part in his campaigns but at the same time he, through subordination to Khwarezm of the neighbouring tribes, became more and more powerful. He succeeded in capturing localities which had big importance for the nomads including the territories on the lower Syr Daria and the peninsula of Mangyshlak. Having strengthened his position, Atsyz, (1138, 1141-1142 and 1147-48 A.D.) rose thrice against Sanjar but was unsuccessful. At last in June 1148 A.D. Atsyz was compelled to declare to Sanjar his full subordination to the Seljukids. Nevertheless he was able to prepare the ground for the independence of Khwarezm and for the creation of the future state of the Khwarezm Shahs (the power of the Seljukids in Khwarez,

the future state of the Khwarezm Shahs, from the middle of the 12th century, was actually nominal).⁴⁰

In the beginning of second half of the 12th century, in Maverannahr, and on the territory of the northern regions of present Afghanistan, certain events took place which led to the downfall of the state of the Seljukids. In 1153 A.D. Sultan Sanjar rose against the Turk Guz (Oguz) who roamed in the Balkh region. The cause of uprising was extreme extortions by tax collectors. After this the nomad Guz started raiding the settled agricultural regions. In order to punish them Sultan Sanjar moved his troops against them. However, he was defeated and imprisoned. After this the nomads began to undertake raids on the agricultural oases of Khorasan and on the south eastern part of Maverannahr, without any obstruction.

In 1156 A.D., after three years of imprisonment Sultan Sanjar succeeded in freeing himself and returned to his capital Merv. A year later he died and along with him the outward appearance of existence of the centralised state of the Seljukids also vanished. The Asia Minor and Kerman succeeded in achieving independence during the rule of Sultan Sanjar. After his death, independent principalities appeared in Fars and Azerbaijan. Khorasan also came out from under the power of the Seljukids. In the centre of the Caliphate in Baghdad the Caliph restored his status.

This situation strengthened the independence of Khwarezm even more than the son and successor of Atsyz Il-Arslan (1156–1172 A.D.) could utilise to his advantage. Il-Arslan intervened in the struggle between the Karakhanid Khans of Maverannahr who were subordinate to the Karakitais and the troops of the Turk tribe Karluks.

Il-Arslan supported the Karluks. In 1158 A.D. he entered the territory of Maverannahr along with the troops of Khwarezm and took part in the battles of the Karluks for Samarkand and Bukhara. Later he fought against the Khorasan Guz and achieved some success. In 1155 he moved his troops against Nisapur trying to

40. V.V. Bart'old gives a detailed summary of the history of the state of Khwarezm Shahs (1963b; see also Kajesoglu I., 1956).

subordinate the city to himself. However, he did not succeed and returned to Khorasan. But under conditions of constant domestic feuds, it was not worthwhile even thinking about expulsion of the Karakitais from Maverannahr. Moreover Il-Arslan had to undertake measures for defence of his own territory. In 1171-1172 the Karakitais under the pretext that Il-Arslan was not paying them tribute timely marched their troops on Khwarezm. Il-Arslan succeeded in saving his capital from the attack of the Karakitais only at the cost of destruction of the dam on Syr Daria.

After the death of Il-Arslan (1172 A.D.), his younger son Sultan Shah ascended the throne of the Shahs of Khwarezm, seizing power with the help of his mother. The older son of Il-Arslan, Ala adin-Tekesh, the ruler of one of the regions of Khwarezm appealed to the Karakitais for help in capturing Khwarezm; for this he promised to pay them annual tribute. The same year with the help of the Karakitais he seized Khwarezm. Sultan Shah fled in order to save himself.

On becoming the ruler of Khwarezm and after strengthening his position Ala adin-Tekesh (1172-1200 A.D.) declined to pay tribute to the Karakitais and executed their envoy who came to Khwarezm for collecting tribute. Having come to know about it, Sultan Shah in turn hurried to the Karakatais asking them to help him in removing Tekesh.

The Karakitais desiring to receive tribute from Khwarezm undertook a campaign against Tekesh. But he after flooding the roads made the advance of the Karakitai troops extremely difficult. Besides this, the hopes of Sultan Shah and the Karakitais, to stir the population of khwarezm against Tekesh did not succeed. The Karakitais were compelled to return to their capital leaving one detachment at the disposal of Sultan Shah. With this detachment, he proceeded to Khorasan, and after defeating the forces of local nomadic Guzs, seized Merv, and a little later he captured Serakhs and Tus also.

Following the unsuccessful attack of the Karakitais, Tekesh considerably strengthened his power. Carrying out several successful campaigns against Maverannahr and Khorasan he seized several large cities and settlements. In June 1187 he entered Nisapur and in 1193 after the death of Sultan Shah took Merv.

Almost simultaneously Tekesh got an opportunity to intervene in the domestic political life of some of the districts of Iran. Seljukid Sultan Togrul II wanted to take the reins of the state in his hands, leaving for the Caliph, management of the religious affairs only. But the Abbasid Caliph Nasir (1180-1225 A.D.) did not agree. In the ensuing struggle he appealed to Tekesh for help. Tekesh without letting go the convenient opportunity advanced his troops against Togrul in March 1194, defeated him and captured Hamadan. However, the Abbasids quickly realised that the Khwarezm Shah was more dangerous for the Arab Caliphate than the Seljuk Sultan. That is why Caliph Nasir suggested to Tekesh, through his *vazir*, to perform the court ceremony prescribed by the Caliphate. This meant that Tekesh would have to agree to subordination to the Abbasid Caliph in religious as well as administrative affairs. Tekesh sent back the envoy of the Caliph with a curt reply.

In June 1196, between the troops of Khwarezm Shah and the Caliph, a fierce battle took place which ended in victory of the Khwarezmians. Notwithstanding this the Caliph demanded Tekesh withdrawal of his troops from the western provinces of Iran and retreat to Khwarezm. Tekesh replied that the revenues, of the countries occupied by him, were not adequate for supporting his large military forces and hence the Caliph must cede in addition to these countries some more territory. Not content with this he also demanded that his name be mentioned in the *khutba* in Baghdad. The struggle between the Khwarezm Shah and the Caliph got prolonged.

Although during the rule of Tekesh the state of Khwarezm Shahs grew strong, the struggle with the Caliphate wore out Khwarezm more and more. The Caliph was able to take advantage of the influence of the Muslim clergy while Tekesh tried to take the support of the troops. For the success of his military organization Tekesh divided the military commanders into various ranks and created a powerful group of military aristocracy. However, in the end, Tekesh could not find a firm support inside the country though he tried for this through all possible means. The work of the personal secretary (Munshi of Tekesh) Mohammad Bagdadi *At-tavassul ila-t-tarassul* ("The search for

access to business correspondence”) which is available to us, depicts the picture of social and ethnic composition of the Syrdaria region at the beginning of 13th century and contains among some other official documents containing the instructions of the Khwarezm Shah Tekesh to the vice-regent of Jend. In these instructions the Khwarezm Shah ordered the vice-regent to establish correct relations with the different strata of population which are listed in details.

1. Saiyads (people who were considered the descendents of Prophet Mohammad)—“Care for their interests according to just level of their holiness, he (vice-regent) should consider his most valuable duty...and may well do everything to ensure their needs.”
2. Imams and scholars (*ulema*)—“May he make them happy by giving them gifts and doing good” in state affairs based on law (*fatwa*).
3. Judges and rulers—from them just decisions should be demanded, “but, of course, they should not diminish the dignity of the Judge”.
4. Sufis and their followers—they should be given gifts, “in order to enable them to pray for our victorious state with peaceful hearts”.
5. Influential elders—they should be patronised.
6. Group of officials and military personnel subordinate to the vice-regent—to govern them without taking part in “their internal discussions and feuds”, to look to the accurate distribution of salary, “in order that they need not take to extortions from the population.”
7. The fighters for faith (*Gazis*)—to support them in every possible manner giving them the task of watching the population.

This list shows the kind of exploiting groups the Khwarezm Shah tried to depend upon.

In this work there are also indications about the land cultivators and land owners and also about the craftsmen and “people of the market” who are recommended for needful attention because “by their labour the troops are provided the material means”.

Further, the need to patronise the traders is mentioned, “who are unpaid messengers and eulogisers of the king.”

Particularly recommended is the equal treatment of the Turks and Tajiks.

In conclusion there is an appeal to the population to meet the new vice-regent with joy: “May they give him completely the taxes for the coming year of the size of one-third of the collection, and may they restrain themselves from baseless complaints against him as if the complainants are exploited and may they be loyal to our command and his—vice-regent’s—orders”.

This document testifies, apart from other things, to the fact that in the 13th century, even in the far-flung areas of Khwarezm, a considerable part of population consisted of the Tajiks (with a predominant Turkish-speaking part). Its main significance is that in it is given a vivid picture of the feudal hierarchy.⁴¹

Tekesh was succeeded by his son Mohammad (1200–1220 A.D.). In 1203, with the support of the Karakitais, Mohammad conquered Khorasan. Having taken Herat, also with its vicinity, he in 1207 returned to his capital and started making preparations for seizing Maverannahr. The same year (1207) Mohammad made a beginning of the conquest of Maverannahr, by proceeding with large troops for suppressing the population of Bukhara, which rose in rebellion against the rulers of the city—*Sadrs*.

The Uprising of Sanjar

The Conquest of the State of the Karakhanids by Mohammed Khwarezm Shah

As noted earlier, in Bukhara, in the first half of 12th century the blue-blooded family and the representatives of high and rich clergy, who held the title of “Sadrijahan”—“the pillar of the world”, had gained big influence. Concentration in their hands of large *waqf* lands and also the collection of taxes from the craftsmen and traders and from the lands around the city, revenues from trade around the city, revenues from trade and markets—all these gave the *Sadrs* big riches. About the size of these riches one

41. For a detailed discussion of this source (with partial summary of its contents) see: Semenov A.A., 1952, p. 17.

can judge from one such fact: one of the *Sadrs* (Mohammad ibn-Ahmad) maintained on his revenues upto 600 *fakirs*. When he undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca, he needed more than 100 camels for carrying food stuff for the journey. For his greed and unworthy conduct he was nicknamed, "*Sadr i jehannum*" ("the pillar of hell"). The riches of the *Sadrs* of Bukhara had also other origin. Under the pretext of collecting large sums for paying annual tribute to the Karakitais the *Sadrs* ruthlessly looted the masses. A major part of the collected amount was kept by the *Sadrs* for themselves.

All this of course could not but evoke indignation among the large masses. In 1206 the population of Bukhara under the leadership of an artisan Sanjar, who was a master of making shields, rose against the domination of the *Sadrs*.

The main force of the uprising of Sanjar was the city artisans. Historical sources give very little information on how this uprising started and developed. We do not know also as to how long the rebels held the city in their hands after their victory and how they governed it. It is only known that having captured the city, Sanjar, as the court chroniclers write, greatly "humiliated" the eminent people, *i.e.*, the aristocrats and feudals. The *Sadrs* were driven out of the city with disgrace and their property was placed at the disposal of the rebels. The expelled *Sadrs* appealed for help to the Karakitais.

The Khwarezm Shah, Mohammad, who for long had been looking for an opportune moment to take back Maverannahr from the Karakitais considered the Bukhara events as the most convenient occasion for this and proceeded to Bukhara as the head of large forces. The rebels who had not taken the required measures for defence of the city and even did not unite with the peasants of the nearby places could not repel the attack of the military forces of the Khwarezm Shah. In 1207, Mohammad overtaking the Karakitais, captured Bukhara. The Bukharan *Sadrs* restored their domination and became the vassals of the Khwarezm Shah, Mohammad. But for the complete subjugation of the entire territory of Maverannahr, Mohammad needed an ally, from amongst the rulers of Maverannahr itself.

About the events of this time there is a lot of information in the written sources and there are also many contradictions.⁴² For clarifying many circumstances and chronology of the events numismatic data is helpful.⁴³

The ruler of Samarkand and nominal head of the Karakhanids at this time was Osman ibn-Ibrahim and the ruler of Fargana, his real brother Qadir. Osman ascended the throne of his father at the threshold of the 12th–13th centuries and soon after took the high-sounding title of the “great Sultan of Sultans”. His position between the “two flames”, *i.e.*, between Mohammad Khwarezm Shah and the Karakitais, was very complicated, but for some time he manoeuvred quite shrewdly. An impression is created that Mohammad Khwarezm Shah did not think of eliminating the dynasty of the Karakhanids and only during the struggle with the Karakitais his policy on this question changed. The relations between Karakhanids and Mohammad Khwarezm Shah can be divided into three stages: initially there were alliance—like relations, afterwards relations of vassalage, and at the end exile and annihilation of the Karakhanid rulers.

After capturing Bukhara Mohammad Khwarezm Shah entered into alliance with Osman of Samarkand without claiming his territories. Osman continued to mint coins in his own name with the above mentioned title which was even higher and more resplendent than the title of Mohammad Khwarezm Shah himself.

At this time the allies were defeated by the Karakitais. Khwarezm Shah was compelled to return to his kingdom and Osman again became close to the Karakitais and sought the hand of the daughter of Gurkhan. On being rejected, he again turned to Mohammad Khwarezm Shah not as an equal ally but only as a vassal: in 1209/1210 he minted coins in two names: on one side, was the name and title of Mohammad Khwarezm Shah, and on the other, his own name.

This betrayal by Osman led to the campaign of Gurkhan against Samarkand. However the Karakitais after seizing

42. Bart'old V.V., 1963a, p. 420 onwards.

43. Davidovich E.A., 1957b, pp. 93–108.

Samarkand and collecting small tribute left the city because in the East a serious trouble started in their domain.

The success of the war which Khwarezm Shah Mohammad, was waging against the Karakitais in the later years, was to some extent conditioned by the fact that the state of Karakitai was raided by the Mongol tribe, Naimans. The latter even plundered the treasury of Gurkhan. Osman, because of such failures of the Karakitais again switched over to the side of Mohammad Khwarezm Shah and again confirmed his vassalage by minting of coins in two names. Mohammad Khwarezm Shah, after giving order to strengthen Samarkand and leaving his representative with Osman, proceeded to the East and defeated the Karakitai troops in the valley of Talas, imprisoning their military commander. Although this battle did not completely decide the destiny of Karakitais, it raised the authority of Mohammad Khwarezm Shah. His name began to be mentioned in the official documents with the title "Iskandari Duyum" ("second Alexander") or "Sultan Sanjar".⁴⁴

The conquest of Maverannahr by Mohammad was also facilitated by the fact that the population of Maverannahr hoped for betterment of their condition after the expulsion of the "heathens"—Karakitais—and establishment of the power of the co-religionist Khwarezm Shah. Mohammad intended to take advantage of these hopes of the population to achieve his goals. After taking Bukhara in 1207 A.D. he perhaps gave an order to his troops not to use brute force. Even the life of the head of the rebels, Sanjar, was spared in the beginning and it was only later that he was drowned in the Amu Daria.

Nevertheless, the population of Maverannahr very soon felt all the burden of the power of the "faithful" Khwarezm Shah, Mohammad. Osman, who after the victory of Mohammad against the Karakitais, got married to the daughter of Mohammad and lived in Khwarezm for full one year and after coming back to Samarkand was not happy with the tutelage of the Khwarezmians and the loss of independence restored his relations with the

44. This meant Alexander of Macedonia and the last among the famous Seljukids — Sultan Sanjar.

Karakitais, changing this time his policy of siding with the most powerful. New interests of the Karakhanid ruler and his people appeared to coincide: the oppression of the Khwarezmians united them in a common struggle.

The persecution and coercion by the vice-regent of the Khwarezm Shah in Samarkand was unbearable to such an extent that in 1212 the population of the city rose against their new oppressors. Not relying on their own strength, it appealed to the Karakitais for help. Mohammad reached Samarkand immediately and brutally suppressed the uprising. The murder and pillaging in the city lasted for three days as a result of which thousands of innocent people were killed. Osman was executed.

Having suppressed the defiant population of Samarkand, the Khwarezm Shah made the city his residence and started constructing the mosque and the royal palace.

In order to strengthen his position in Maverannahr, Mohammad ordered the execution of the Karakhanid rulers of other regions of Central Asia. He captured Fargana, taking it away from Qadir, the brother of Osman. In Uzgend, the capital of the largest principality of the Karakhanids and in Samarkand, the capital of the Karakhanid state were minted coins in 1213 with the name of Mohammad, Khwarezm Shah. This confirmed the complete annihilation of the dynasty of the Karakhanids. So far as the dynasty of the Karakitais is concerned it was liquidated by Kuchluk, the leader of the nomadic Naimans.

Kuchluk of Naiman was a strong opponent. As far as Mohammad Khwarezm Shah was concerned, his ambitions were directed towards the south and the west. He was longing to seize the territory of Afghanistan and Iran and challenge the Caliph himself. Not confident of the possibility of fighting on two fronts and fearing that Kuchluk of Naiman would try to capture the north-eastern regions of his state, he transferred the population of Chach, Isfijab and part of Fargana to new places and ordered this region to be deserted.

By that time Iran and Afghanistan were seized and Mohammad Khwarezm Shah initially demanded from the Caliph to give up in his favour the temporal power even in Baghdad and then declared him dethroned. Mohammad declared Saiyed Ala al-

Mulk of Termez the Caliph and in 1217 undertook a military campaign against Baghdad. This campaign ended in failure. Further information in the written sources about the relations between the Caliph and the Sultan is contradictory: one of them says that Mohammad declared Caliph dead and cancelled his name in the *khutba* in almost all cities of his state, according to the other, he on the contrary, sought reconciliation with the Caliph. Historians have preferred the second version⁴⁵, but according to the data of numismatics the first version is closer to reality: before and after the Baghdad campaign on the coins of some cities the name of the Caliph was mentioned but not on the coins of other cities.⁴⁶ In this connection the mintage of Termez coins, the motherland of Ala al-Mulk, who was declared by Mohammad as the Caliph, is interesting: here after the declaration of the latter and after the Baghdad campaign there was no name of the deposed Caliph on the coins (earlier it was) but the name of Ala al-Mulk Termezi also was absent. The authority of the Bagdad Caliph, among the Muslims, was very great. Mohammad could not remain consistent till the end in his policy of deposing the Caliph. He did not gain anything but lost much. V.V. Bart'old rightly noted that there was not a single class of society which could be supportive of Mohammad. Feudals, clérgey, and common people, all of them were discontented though for defferent reasons. Even the mercenary army, which ensured him military successes, ultimately became defiant. The large state of Mohammad Khwarezm Shah did not possess the internal strength and that is why it fell easily under the blows of the Mongols.

2. Economy and Socio-Economic Relations

Ikta and Conditional Land Ownership in the 11th-12th Centuries

The development of the institution of feudal land grant for service (*ikta*) in the 11th-12th centuries, in the states of the Gaznavids,

45. Bart'old V.V., 1963b, pp. 438-440.

46. Davidovich E.A., 1953b, pp. 51-53.

Karkhanids, Seljukids and Khwarezm Shahs is not to be seen as a parallel and of common process. In concrete historical research of the place of *ikta*, in social and economic life of each of these four state formations, it is necessary to keep in mind that the more far sighted state persons and rulers of that time understood well that the development of *ikta* weakened the central power economically as well as politically. In relation to this the story about Altuntash, the vice-regent of Khwarezm, during the reign of Mahmud Gaznavid, is interesting. The *khiraj* of Khwarezm was two times less than the salary of Altuntash as vice-regent. Altuntash approached Vazir Mahmud with a suggestion that he would keep himself as the *khiraj* of Khwarezm and the remaining amount be paid in addition from the treasury. Altuntash not only got refusal but a sharp reprimand from the Vazir: "May this be known to Amir Altuntash that he cannot be Mahmud. In no case those revenues, for which he is responsible, will be granted to him. Collect the taxes, bring them to the treasury of the Sultan and get a receipt and then ask for maintenance...the great danger for the slave is to seek co-partnership in the kingdom with his lord."⁴⁷ But the "great danger", of *ikta* (transfer of the right to collect *khiraj* in one's favour this is the early form of *ikta*) was not for the "slave" but for the "Lord". That is why when the government had adequate strength and economic possibilities to do without grant, it tried to pay for the service in cash, etc.

According to the information given by Nizam al-Mulk, the Samanids and the Gaznavids "...did not give *ikta* and paid everyone from the treasury in cash his salary four times a year and they were always contented and flourished. *Amils* collected taxes and deposited them in the treasury; from the treasury once in every three months the salary was paid."⁴⁸ Nizam al-Mulk in this case tells only about the army, the chapter is also called "on clarity in property matters of the whole army". With some reservation this assertion of Nizam al-Mulk can be treated as trustworthy. Under the Samanids *ikta* received considerable development but in all the known cases the grantees were the

47. Nizam al-Mulk, 1949, pp. 230-231.

48. Ibid., p. 106.

members of the dynasty or big dignitaries and the troops were paid salary. But under the Gaznavids the army initially received *ikta*. However Sebuktegin (977-997 A.D.) took steps towards cancellation of such a state of affairs and transferred troops to maintenance from the treasury in the form of regular payment in cash. This situation continued till late also at least for two or three generations of his successors.⁴⁹ At the same time under the Gaznavids separate cases of large grants are known; though such types of grants during their rule did not occupy such a large place in the social and economic life as during the Samanid rule. Thus under the Gaznavids, at the time of the flourishing of this state, the feudal grants for service were spread less than during the Samanids; the Central Government obviously put its goal not to grant *ikta* and it had an economic possibility not to do this.

Completely different was the situation during the Seljukids although such far sighted people of that time as Nizam al-Mulk understood very well the harmful results of a wide grant of *ikta*. Nevertheless it took place. But during the Seljukids the big grants to bureaucrats and elites; as well as large distribution of grants to the army, was widespread.⁵⁰ *Iktas* for army were spread all over the country. *Iktadars* had the right to collect rent in their favour. In practice they tried to widen their rights. Nizam al-Mulk repeatedly, and on different occasions tells that the *mukta*, the holders of *ikta*, should not extend the rights given to them and that central powers should control it: "*mukta* who hold *ikta* may think that in relation to the people they are given nothing but the right to collect the legal tax with kind means; that they are ordained; when they collect may the people be safe in their person, property and wives and children, their belongings and lands, let *mukta* not touch them."⁵¹

Although the conditions of the peasants, on lands given in *ikta*, were different from place to place but it was usually hard. The

49. Bosworth C.E., 1963, pp. 124-125.

50. Bertels A.E., 1959, pp. 31-33; Bosworth S.E., 1968a pp. 230-244; Lambton A.K.S., 1969, pp. 53-67 (here is also given the co-relation of the Seljukid system of *ikta* with her which was developed in the state of Buids).

51. Nizam al-Mulk, p. 34.

free movement of the peasants was restricted and there is information about forced labour of peasants. In *ikta*, the entire regions were given away presently situated in southern Turkmenia.⁵²

The question of *ikta* in the state of the Karakhanids is less clear. V.V. Bart'old and V. Iu. Yakubovskii thought that in the state of the Karakhanids the principality system was prevalent and *ikta* was so widespread that it became the dominant form of land ownership.⁵³ Both these outstanding scholars made their conclusions on the analogy of the state of the Seljukids.

O.G. Bolshakov⁵⁴ while agreeing that these conclusions are fully in accord with the general line of development of feudal relations in the Near and Middle East, at the same time expressed correct doubts about the competence of such constructions based only on analogies because this mechanically excludes the manifestation of the possible peculiarity.

In the part about the administration of the principalities of the state of the Karakhanids, O.G. Bolshakov gives the following ideas. According to the data given by E.A. Davidovich in the Samanid state even in the period of its blossoming, besides vassal territories of the type of Khwarezm, Chaganyan and Khuttalyan, there existed principalities and large territories on the basis of grant. Under the Karakhanids in the first decades, Maverannahr was divided in a large number of principalities, but after the formation of the independent state the situation appeared approximately the same as was during the Samanid rule. Hence there is no basis to compare (although with reservations) the administration of the principalities of the Karakhanid state with the ones in the state of the Samanids.

On the whole we cannot but accept the correctness of this methodical approach and the conclusions, but it is necessary to make some corrections. If to divide the grants for service in two groups (according to the social criteria): grants—"to feed the

52. Lambton A.K.S., 1969, pp. 66-69.

53. Bart'old V.V., 1963b, pp. 330, 367 onwards; 1963e, p. 284; Yakubovskii A.Iu., 1949, pp. 39-40.

54. ITN, Vol. II, 1, pp. 248-250.

troops" and large grants for the members of the dynasty and the dignitaries, there are so far no concrete historical data for discussion, about the first group of grants under the Karakhanids. As for the second group some material is provided by Karakhanid coins. In the beginning of the 11th century the state of the Karakhanid was in fact divided in many big and small principalities with vividly expressed relations of vassalage and multi-stage feudal hierarchy, as vassals of the big owners were not the only members of the dynasty. Later the number of vassal owners in the inscriptions on the coins visibly decreased but still they were there. Under Ibrahim Tamgach-khan also, who was the real founder of the independent western Karakhanid Kaganate with centre in Samarkand, there are names and titles of small principality owners, his vassals on some of his coins.⁵⁵ Even in the second half of the 12th century when the state of the Central Asian Karakhanids came in the hands of the Fargana family, the independent minting of coins was done not only by the heads of the dynasty (who were in Samarkand) and not only the heads of the Fargana principality (who were in Uzgend)⁵⁶, but sometimes even by smaller owners of principalities, as in Marginan and Binaket.⁵⁷

An impression is created that the development of centralization tendencies, after the formation of the independent Karakhanid state, with its centre in Samarkand did not abolish the principality system which came into existence in the beginning of the 11th century but only limited the right of the principality owners and also possibly the number of the principalities. In particular, small principality owners since then have, only in separate cases, put their names on the coins. Besides this, if the Samanids struggled against the attempts to convert the grant territories into hereditary (and struggled sometimes successfully), during the Karakhanid rule as is seen from the minted coins. Hereditary was already a frequent phenomenon; possibly a norm. O.G. Bolshakov is right in his observation that to speak about the comparison of the states of

55. Markov A.K., 1896, pp. 265-267, pp. 451-453.

56. Davidovich E.A., 1957, pp. 108-119.

57. Davidovich E.A., 1961, pp. 189-190.

the Samanids and the Karakhanids at present there are no basis and data. But about the further “progressive” development of *ikta* and principality system we can talk, keeping in mind, however, that this development was not also a unilinear uninterrupted process.

When we speak about the situation in the state of the Khwarezm Shahs we are in a more advantageous position. In the already mentioned work of Mohammad Bagdadi, the private secretary of the Khwarezm Shah Tekesh (1172–1200 A.D.), there are several documents relating to the reign of Nisa. At this time a big role in the political life of the southern outlying region of the state of the Khwarezm Shahs was played by the Guz feudals. To one of the leading Guz feudal, Tuganshah, Tekesh gave away in *ikta* large parts of the region. From the grant deed it is clear that to Tuganshah belonged a whole range of rights of immunity. The clergy, judges, scholars, well-to-do people, “princes”, “military commanders”, land cultivators and people of other strata were subjugated to him. In a state of subjugation to the *iktadar* were also *shikhne*—the rulers of the settlements and the districts, *mutesarriifs*—financial taxation officials (in central government administration and in local places) who also controlled irrigation and *Amils*—direct collectors of taxes. The deed contains the advice to the *iktadar*: “Let him instruct that appointed by him collectors of the taxes—*mutesarriifs*—were decorated with justice and trust so that they would be above sin and carelessness and that they defended the interests of the population, that they did not impose on the peasants whatsoever other taxes and tributes besides a definite tax and clear *khiraj*, that they did not levy on them something new which is not permitted by tradition and by which neither the people nor the Lord would be contented.”

In this colourful sermon an appeal is contained to uphold the honour of the women, property and life of the population, to guard the security of home, etc. From all this it becomes clear that the representatives of *iktadars* in reality were notorious marauders and as noted in the deed: “they led the Muslims to flee their places.”

The part of the region of Nisa, which was not incorporated in the *ikta* of Tuganshah, was in the possession of the Khwarezm Shah Tekesh himself who ruled his people through vice-regent. This vice-regent received salary and besides, some localities were given to him as *ikta*. In the deed transacted with him it was mentioned that he could collect tribute in his favour for the land given to him in *ikta*. He was given the "keys of permission and communication orders about execution and prohibition". "Let him tell his deputies that they while demanding the land tax did not levy on the peasants hard taxes beyond the agreed limit when they do not have strength to withstand their difficulties during the checking of financial accounts and their disorder...." From peasants and citizens they demanded that they paid their taxes and tributes fully without giving the pretext of lack of means. Persons avoiding taxes awaited harsh punishment.⁵⁸ Thus the picture of most ruthless oppression of the population presents itself from these authentic documents in all its concrete form.

Land Ownership and the Peasantry

One of the characteristic social processes of the given period is the change in the composition of the big and even middle landowners. Before the Arab conquest the main landowners were the peasants. After the Arab conquest there began a systematic ruination of the peasantry. In the first place the small and middle peasants suffered who were ruined by the hard taxation and misuse of power by the officials. Some small landowners voluntarily preferred to give up their lands to the bigger landowners (the institution of *taljiat*). The conquerors and the elite, close to them, willingly bought lands of the peasants. The latter sometimes were compelled under coercion to sell their hereditary lands. Confiscations and forcible seizures also took place. This process continued during the rule of the Samanids. Community lands were bought by the members of the dynasty, officials occupying high posts and affluent military commanders, etc. The development of the institution of the feudal grants in the 9th-10th centuries from

58. Semenov A.A., 1955.

one side multiplied the riches of the grantees and from the other side it opened before them even wider possibilities: purchase of the hereditary lands of the peasants because the grants of the 9th–10th centuries were large and included administrative power in the form of the posts of the vice-regents—rulers of the cities, districts and entire regions. As a result of this, by the 11th century, peasants were not the only landowners.

But even then by the 11th century the peasantry was still a powerful estate. Big peasants owned entire districts and regions. Some of them willingly switched over to the side of the conquerors—the Karakhanids⁵⁹, and initially preserved not only their land but to some extent the political weight also. An example is provided by the peasants of Ilak. Their names with the title “*dehkan*” were mentioned on the copper coins (minted in Ilak in 997, 998, 1004/1005 and 1008/1009 A.D.) as the vassals of the Karakhanid rulers.⁶⁰ An impression is created that under the Karakhanids, at the end of the 10th—beginning of the 11th century peasants of Ilak rose higher, became more independent and gained more weight than it was in the 10th century under the Samanids.⁶¹

The position of the old landed aristocracy—the rulers of different border regions was strong till the beginning of the 11th century. Under the Samanids, for example, as already mentioned, some territories did not pay *Khiraj*, limiting themselves to gifts sometimes though symbolic. There the land remained the property of the local feudals. Mahmud Gaznavid tried hard to capture these regions. He subjugated Garchistan and destroyed the palaces of the local elite. The complete subjugation of Gur was also followed by the destruction of castles.⁶²

He also conquered the regions lying near Amu Daria although Chaganyan before 1038/1039 A.D. preserved its political

59. In particular the peasants themselves invited Karakhanid Bograkan (Bart'old V.V., 1963b, p. 318).

60. Markov A.K., 1896, pp 218–219, N. 192–193; Masson M.E., 1953, p. 81.

61. See Bart'old V.V., 1963b, p. 292.

62. Bertels A.E., 1959, pp. 25–26.

autonomy. According to Beihaki there ruled the hereditary rulers and on the coins minted in Chaganyan Gaznavids were not mentioned at all, even as suzerains.⁶³

In the conquered territories the *khiraj* system was introduced which was economically unsuitable for local landowners and it ruined the weak and small among them. Here perhaps with some delay the same process was repeated which in the central regions had started earlier and by the 11th century deepened further.

During the 11th-12th centuries in the states of the Karakhanids, Gaznavids and Seljukids an intensive process of acquiring public lands by members of these dynasties, military class of different origin and the top brass of the army was going on. The sources mention big owners of common lands from among the military aristocracy. They received large privileges. Their common lands were often exempted from *khiraj*.

Thus in various ways the common lands of the peasants (*mylk* lands) were turned over into the hands of the new dynasties and new feudals. It is generally recognized by researchers that the peasants completely ceased to exist as the main estate of landowners by the time of Mongol conquest. Parallel to this the meaning of the word "*dehkan*" also evolved which with the gradual ruination of the peasantry was more often used to signify the ordinary land cultivator, the peasant.⁶⁴

In the 11th-12th centuries a new social component of the landowners was formed in which the remnants of the peasantry were dissolved.

It is also necessary to stress this significant phenomenon of feudal economy as the sale-purchase of the landed property. The appearance of price of land, conversion of common land into object of sale-purchase was undoubtedly hastened by the conquest of Central Asia and Khorasan, initially by the Arabs followed by the Karakhanid, and the Seljukids, by the formation of new states, by the change in the composition of the feudal

63. Davidovich E.A., 1970b.

64. About the evolution of the word *dehkan* see Bart'old V.V. 1923; 1963b, pp. 238-239; Bertels A.E., 1959, p. 26 onwards.

ruling clique and other above-mentioned phenomena. In other words, the vanishing of the peasantry, as an independent and main estate of landowners and formation of the new composition of landowners, was based to a considerable extent just on the transformation of the common lands into object of sale and purchase which hastened this process.

The Cities of Central Asia in 11th–12th Centuries

One of the prominent phenomena of the given period was an intensive growth of cities, commodity production and trade through money.

The cities of Central Asia expanded and their population increased. The centre of life in Samarkand, for example, concentrated on the territory of the outer city where numerous trade-handicraft residential complexes were located. Here the houses of city aristocrats, clergy, rich traders, etc. were situated.⁶⁵ The city fortifications of Bukhara were also reconstructed inside, and the territory of the city expanded. Many new monumental buildings were erected.⁶⁶ Termez of 11th–12th centuries expanded a lot in comparison to the Samanid period. In 11th century its fortifications were strengthened, citadel was reinforced with baked bricks. In the same century the palace of the Termez ruler was erected. Particular importance was reinforced by the trade-handicraft part of the city where one or the other handicraft productions were concentrated around certain points, probably bazars.⁶⁷ One of the largest cities of southern Tajikistan was the capital of Khuttalyan—Khulbuk. Its central part occupied an area of about 70 hectares. Here the citadel stood high, during excavations of which remnants of richly decorated palace of the rulers of Khuttalyan were found. In the city there existed different handicraft productions—pottery, metallic, etc. The intensive development of the city was characteristic of the period. In places where there were earlier dumps or irrigated plantations, residential houses appeared.⁶⁸

65. Masson M.E., 1950, pp. 164–165.

66. Sukhareva O.A., 1958, p. 31 onwards.

67. Masson, M.E., 1938, pp. 7–8.

68. Litvinskii B.A. and Davidovich E.A., 1954 A.D. p. 41 onwards.

According to data of archaeological-topography observations in the 11th-12th centuries, the large, middle and small cities of southern Turkmenistan were growing considerably: Merv, Dandenakan, Amul, Zenim, Serakhs, Meikhene, Abiverd, Nisa, Yazyr, Dakhistan and others.⁶⁹ In Chui valley in the 10th-12th centuries some settlements grew into large city centres.⁷⁰ Even mountainous regions were intensively drawn into money-commodity relations (for example, the district in the valley of river Obinion, the tributary of Pyanj or the district of Isfara).

The main reasons for considerable, and in some cases, stormy rise of urban life, were the development of productive forces, the further separation of the crafts from agriculture. The other most important factor behind the growth of cities was the strengthening of the feudal dependence on the peasantry which led to mass migration to cities (which, by the way, left its imprint on some forms of urban culture)⁷¹ Thus the concepts of Marx and Engels, about the role of the fugitive serfs in the formation of the European medieval cities⁷², could be applied to the medieval cities of Central Asia as well.

The Crafts in the 11th-12th Centuries

The main centres of crafts and trade were the cities. The city crafts of this period have been studied mainly on the basis of archaeological data. Most of the material collected by the archaeologists consists of ceramic and glass production.

First of all, a considerable increase in the production of ceramic under further standardization of forms was characteristic for the 11th-12th centuries. The other characteristic is the large place occupied in the production of fancy "dinner" crockery by unglazed but richly and diversely ornamented vessels. It is significant to note the wide territorial extent of the glazed ceramic in the 11th-12th centuries. It can be found in far-flung mountainous corners of Central Asia where in the 9th-10th centuries the glazed ceramic was a rare phenomenon or was totally

69. Pugachenkova G.A., 1958, pp. 190-199.

70. Kozhemyako P.N., 1959, p. 183.

71. For details see Litvinskii B.A., 1953b, p. 55 onwards.

72. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch*, T. 3, pp. 14-15, 50-51; T. 4, p. 425.

absent. The other changes also occurred, which allow to distinguish the ceramic of the 11th-12th and of the beginning of the 13th century from the preceding period.

The production of ceramic of the 11th-12th centuries has been deeply studied from the point of view of technology and techniques and from the point of view of the forms and decorations⁷³ because the crockery of this period has been found in large quantity from the old medieval settlements. At some places traces of production can be seen. The ceramic kilns have been excavated, different moulds for ornamentation and instruments for furnace have been found.

Glazed pottery occupies a prominent place in production. Transparent lead glaze predominates and the non-transparent glaze is also used as before. Among the non-transparent glazes particularly distinct is the turquoise glaze of beautiful colour and good quality which appeared in this period.

Forms of glazed ceramic are partially old but their modifications and new variations appeared. For example, if in the 9th-10th centuries the "chirag" lamps had a round reservoir and a short nose, in the 11th-12th centuries along with this form lamps with a long straight cut nose became widespread. Under the glazed paintings, as earlier, the inscriptions, geometrical and floral ornaments, depictions of live species (particularly birds) are included. As earlier, a light background is frequently found but brick red and black colours are widely used; the colours of the pictures are most variable: black and white, brown of different shades and marshy green, yellow, blue and green. All achievements of the preceding period in ornamentation are used but they are modified and considerably changed.

The long inscriptions and maxims wishing well-being vanished and now short one-word inscriptions predominated. This word could be repeated several times; ephigraphic ornaments appeared, repeating combinations of letters which did not have any meaning and which could not be read or translated. In depicting living

73. See the works of I. Ahrarov, O.G. Bolshakov, N.N. Vakturskaya, E. Gulyamova, E.A. Davidovich, B.A. Litvinskii, S.B. Lunina, E.B. Saiko, Sh. S. Taskhojaev, G.V. Shishkina and others.

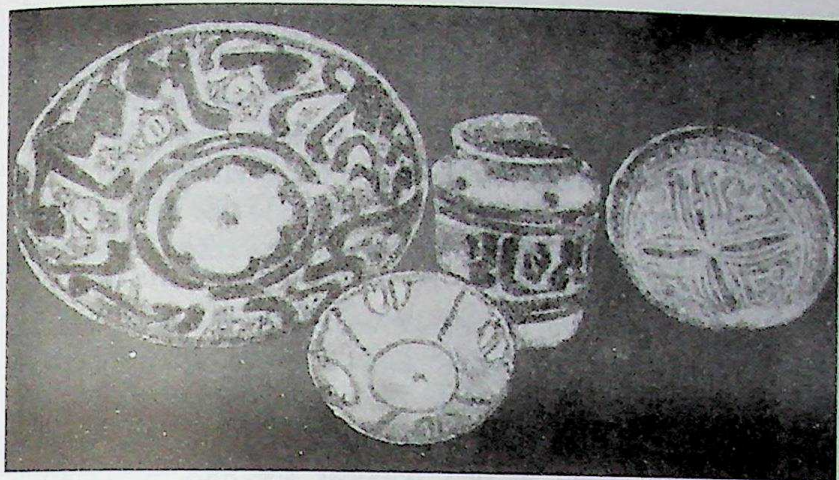
species a process of schematisation could be noticed. For example, birds as earlier were a favourite theme of the paintings which were made under the glaze. But they are not only schematic but often depicted not in full as the repeated picture of the bird's wing.

The geometrical and floral motifs are quite varied. The two principles worked out are: 1) when the ornament covers only a part of a surface freely unfolding in the background, the light background has as a rule, yellow or greenish shade; 2) when the ornament completely covers the whole surface of the vessel not leaving any free background. Many new ornamental motifs, new and very successful combinations of colours appear. For example, the pictures in brown shade are really beautiful, delicately tinted by white, black and marshy green shades.

In the 11th-12th centuries a porridge ceramic bowl was made. Its shard is white or slightly pinkish, fragile and porous; it is covered with slightly blue or even navy blue glaze. The thin walls of the bowl are sometimes cut in small round, triangular and square holes, which covered by glaze, created a very specific and effective transparent ornament.

The thin-walled, non-glazed ornamented ceramic of the 11th-12th century is extremely beautiful. These are mostly the thin-necked jugs of different forms and sizes with sometimes round or pear-like trunk or sometimes with trunk the curvatures of which created a resemblance with a metal. For decoration of the jug different technical methods were used. Ornamental forms were used inside which the upper and lower parts of the jugs were separately made, sometimes necks were also made separately and then all these parts, with already readymade relief pictures, were put together. Stamp impressions were widely used, the pictures of which were imprinted on the ready-made vessels. Other additional methods were also used.

Geometrical and floral ornaments, inscriptions, depictions of animals, birds and fishes, people and fantastic creatures decorate the most elegant non-glazed ceramics. The pictures on its surface are arranged differently. One of the favourite methods is horizontal belts. In one of them an inscription is written, in the other, a most complicated floral design, and in the third one, the chasing of the beasts are depicted.



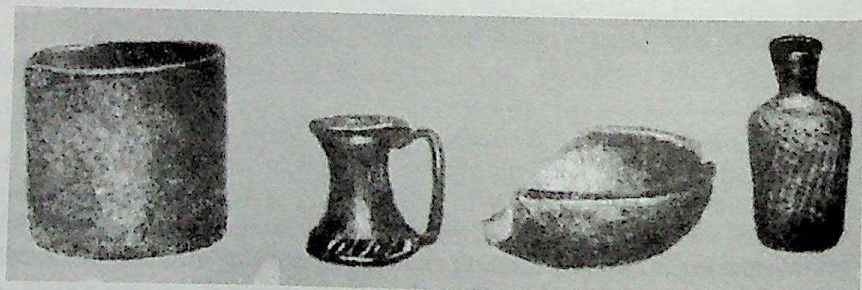
Glazed Ceramic of the 11th-12th Centuries From Afrasiab

Glass artifacts also present a bright picture of the development of crafts in the 11th-12th centuries.⁷⁴ At this time the window glass panes were in wide use. The fragments of flat window glass panes, made by blowing technique, are found in many places: at the settlement of ancient Merv, in some places of Khwarezm and Fargana, at the settlement of medieval Taras, etc. The glass was mostly colourless; that is putting the glass in frame in the first place served a utilitarian purpose. But coloured flat glass has also been found which was used for decoration. In this respect interesting material was found in the palace of the rulers of Termez where in the window grill pieces of broken coloured glass vessels were fixed which did not let much of light through, but created a rich multi-coloured “mosaic” design.

74. Abdurazakov A.A., Bezborodov M.A., Zadneprovskii Iu.A., 1953. Unfortunately in the fifth chapter no attempt was made to show the features of something new in glass making of the 11th-12th centuries; glass is taken in totality, in the frame of more than four centuries (9th-beginning of the 13th century), although archaeological materials already open up certain possibilities for more concrete characteristics of development of this type of craft in the different chronological parts of the period. The discoveries of glass artifacts of the 11th-12th centuries are numerous and described in many archaeological publications.

From the observations of archaeologists, it is evident that in the 11th-12th centuries glass production grew considerably in comparison with the preceding times, glass entered the household of the population more widely. The discoveries pointing to the existence of glass-making workshops have been traced on the territory of many medieval settlements related to this period. Glass itself has been discovered in a large quantity in Central Asia of the 11th-12th century everywhere.

Mass production of household vessels is as prominent as earlier. Along with colourless and coloured glass slightly yellowish glass is found also: green, navy blue and brown. Variety of vessels undoubtedly increased in comparison with the preceding period. Possibly there existed regional specifics in ceramic production as well, but it is still too early to speak about it with any certainty. The other tendency does not create any doubt: some forms of vessels were found in large quantity everywhere. These are some kinds of bowls, jugs and some small vessels for perfumes and medicines. Most of the vessels are without decorations but there are a large number of ornamented glass pieces. The favourite method of decoration was making designs through blowing of glass and pasting of glass reliefs and threads. More labour intensive technical methods of ornamentation (for example engraving), of course, were also used. Particularly beautiful are the ornamented glass vessels from Khulbuk (southern Tajikistan and Kuva (Fargana). No less interesting are the glass



Glass Wares 10th-12th Centuries from Afrasiab

lockets (especially from Termez) with depictions of birds, animals, horse riders with Arabic inscriptions, etc.

The use of glass artifacts was quite diverse: for example dinner crockery, cosmetic medicinal vessels as well as household wares (inkpots, etc.) and different types of jewellery (especially beads), window glass panes and perhaps chemical vessels (the latter unfortunately are in most cases not dated).⁷⁵

The mass scale and general production of glass wares and also of window glass panes, the rich variety and simultaneously standardization of many types of vessels, the use of effective and at the same time less labour intensive and cheaper methods of ornamentation on vessels are indicative of the fact that the glass makers of the 11th-12th centuries worked for the needs of a larger mass of consumers than in the 9th-10th centuries.

A considerable place in urban crafts is occupied by metal production. In Termez, for example, the locality of metal workers has an area of five hectares. Along with the mass production of household articles, the instruments of production and weapons, a lot of highly artistic goods—pots, pen stands, lamps, etc. which were decorated by inscriptions, depictions of different scenes, etc.—were produced. Such, for example, is the bronze *kalamdan*, writing set (of the type of pencil case) which is found in the Central Asia. It is in-laid with silver. It was decorated with inscriptions, figures of birds and designs. In one of the inscriptions it is stated that it was made on 12 April 1148 A.D. by a craftsman, Omar ibn-Al Fazl.⁷⁶ In Bukhara was found an excellent bronze pot encrusted with copper and silver and made in December 1163 A.D. by painter Masud ibn-Ahmad and minter Mohammad ibn-Abd al-Wahid from Herat. On the pot the king is depicted sitting on the throne, playing, hunting, dancing and other such scenes.⁷⁷ The treasure of splendid bronze artifacts of the period has been found in Lyagaman (Vakhsh Valley).

75. See for example Zhukov V.D., 1940, 1945; Davidovich E.A., 1953; Trudnovskaya S.A., 1958; Merezhin L., 1956; Akhrorov I., 1960; Aminijanov M., 1960, 1961; Gulyamova E., 1961a and several others.

76. Gyuzalyan L., 1938, p. 217 onwards.

77. Veselovskii N.E., 1910.

The extraction of minerals was going on, numerous mines were functioning.

Money Circulation

The growth of productive forces, increased process of separation of crafts from agriculture, further development of commodity production, close links with the nomadic steppe, led to the development of exchange inside the states of Central Asia and more or less far-flung countries. This is testified by archaeological materials (especially in parts of China and Iran) as well as in the written sources.

About money circulation there is abundant numismatic material. During the period 11th-to the beginning of the 13th century, on the territory of Central Asia, there circulated coins minted in different state formations (in accordance with inclusion in them of the separate regions and districts of Central Asia). Gaznavid and Seljukid coins are usually found in the southern regions of Central Asia: The first coins are found in Tajikistan and second in southern Turkmenia. Most of the Karakhanid coins are found on the territory of Kyrgyzia, Uzbekistan and northern Tajikistan. On the territory of entire Central Asia are found the coins of Khwarezm Shah, Mohammad ibn-Tekesh.

Money circulation of this period⁷⁸ is characterised by two main features. First, is the increased importance of gold and gold coins in comparison with the preceding period. It is true that they are accepted as earlier by weight. But their role, as means of circulation, grew immeasurably. They are issued in many cities of Central Asia. They actively invade the market which was not the case earlier. The second peculiarity of the Central Asian mint of the given period is conditioned by the phenomenon which got the name of silver coin crisis. From the 11th century, in the states of the East, the standard content of silver coins starts decreasing. In some cases their weight is reduced. Damaged *dirhams* are already not exported to Eastern Europe (unlike the preceding period). The territory of their circulation decreases: not being the coins of full

78. Davidovich E.A., 1968, pp. 92-117.

value, they are circulated only inside the borders of the states that issued them.

The dynamics of damage to silver coins was different in various states. In the Gaznavid state this process was slower: Mahmud and Masud Gaznavid plundered so much wealth in India that they could to some extent delay the damage to coins; in the coins there was still 70-76% of pure silver and such high standard *dirhams* which contained 95% of silver which did not completely vanish from circulation. At just the same time, in the Karakhanid *dirhams* which were minted in the south of Central Asia, there was about only 20% of silver. In Fargana, which in the middle of 11th century was in the sphere of influence of the Eastern Karakhanids, *dirhams* were completely minted without silver: they were made from the alloy of copper and lead and did not have circulation by piece. True, later Ibrahim Tamgach-khan, the head of the southern Karakhanid state, after conquering Fargana, issued coins which contained on an average 20% silver. But this improvement appears to be temporary. In the 12th century the Karakhanids issued copper *dirhams* which had only a thin coat of silver. Besides this, in Central Asia copper *dirhams* "gitrifi" continued to be in circulation—a heritage of the preceding period. All these different kinds of coins served the purpose of silver circulation. Their purchasing power, their face value, was much higher than their real cost. They, as if, substituted in trade the real silver coins.

Some scholars think that the reason for silver coin crisis was the pumping out of silver into Europe during the preceding period and scarcity of silver metal. This was a significant factor but by itself could not have led to damage to coins. In the earlier period, under the same condition of silver reserves, the high standard coins continued to be minted and simply their rate of exchange changed in relation to gold. In this case it was the rapid development of the cities, of commodity production and money trade that demanded such a large quantity of coins—the means of circulation which could not be given to the market on the basis of minting of high standard coins. The growing demand of the market from one side activated the gold, from the other side, it pushed the issue of lower standard coins in large quantity.

The above-mentioned characteristics of money circulation in the 11th-12th and beginning of the 13th centuries itself speaks about highly developed money-commodity relations of that period. If to keep in mind, that in money-commodity relations were drawn the most far-flung including the mountainous regions of Central Asia, it becomes clear that this period occupied a special place in the history of the development of money commodity relations in medieval Central Asia.

3. Culture in the 11th-13th Centuries

Construction, Architecture and Applied Crafts

From the 11th-12th and beginning of the 13th century till our days numerous monuments of architecture have been preserved and this is not accidental. If we take into account the number of preserved monuments with the information about building of palaces, mosques, baths, etc., it becomes clear that this period under study was period of intensive constructions. It is the manifestation and evidence of the growth and development of cities, commodity production, trade, development of productive forces and general growth of economy. This period, however, is distinguished not only by the number of erected constructions but also by further development of architectural ideas, by new constructive planning decisions and by development in the field of decorative works of the monuments.

In the monumental constructions of this period the baked bricks occupied a larger place than before. However, old construction materials—*paksha*—raw bricks were used quite well, especially in the construction of fortresses, castles and palaces. Widely used was a combination of raw and baked bricks, for example, the walls from raw bricks and domes from baked bricks or the walls made from raw bricks lined with baked bricks from outside.

An interesting sample of fortress constructions is the castle-fortress Kala-i-Bolo in the Isfara region of Tajikistan.⁷⁹ Built in

79. Davidovich E.A., 1958, pp. 83-90, 100-103 and illustration on p. 94.

6th–8th centuries, later destroyed and desolate for some time in the 10th century. In the 11th–12th centuries it was considerably strengthened and rebuilt. During reconstruction in the 11th–12th centuries *pakhsa* and raw bricks were used but the lining was done by baked bricks in the alabaster solution. The system of defence created in the 6th–8th centuries was now strengthened by the construction of two rectangular towers in more significant places of the eastern part of the fortress. Elbow-shaped corridor, ascending to the square, and inside the walls, elevation to the parapet of the eastern fortress wall, were inherited from the preceding period. However, the residential complex on platform was completely rebuilt. In the 11th–12th centuries, it was a banquet room, small yard and two rows of adjacent rectangular rooms leading to the common corridor. The rooms were covered with domes made of raw bricks. This is a creative development of the planning scheme of the preceding period: the corridor played the role of lighting device, it solved the problem of providing light to residences and household rooms, because every room could get light through the doorway or from the window above it. It may be noted that in the fortress the window pane glass of this period was also found. Other household devices were also envisaged: on the platform deep pits of cylindrical form for dumping garbage and sewage water were dug out; the top of the pits was reinforced by baked bricks and covered by wooden lids plastered with mud.

Palace construction attained a high level in this period. An idea about this can be formed from the palaces of Khuttalyan ruler in Khulbuk (southern Tajikistan), Termez ruler in Termez and the palaces of Gaznavid Amirs in the suburbs of Gazna in Lashkari-bazar.

The palace in Khulbuk⁸⁰ is situated inside the citadel of the city which defined its many peculiarities. It is elevated on a high artificial platform and is a complicated complex of the banquet rooms, household and residential rooms. It is built mainly from *pakhsa* and raw bricks. Baked bricks were used independently as well as for lining raw walls and domes. Among the household

80. Davidovich E.A., Litvinskii B.A., 1954; Gulyamova E, 1961, 1962, 1964, 1968.

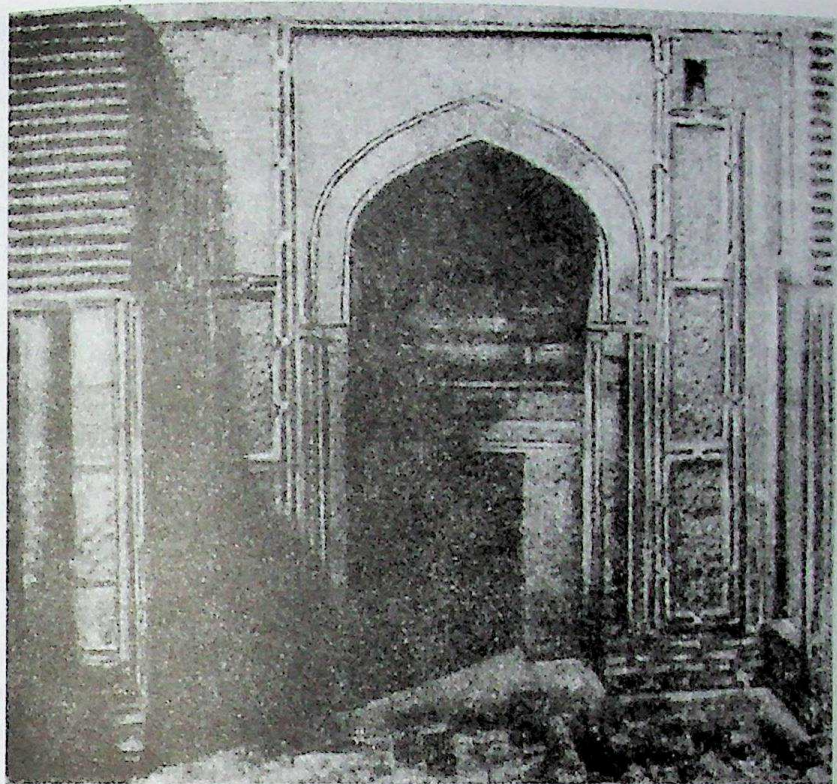
facilities may be noted the garbage pits (as in Kala-i-bolo), in the shape of a deep cylindrical pipe fitted from above with fortified cupola made from baked bricks; the heating system in the shape of drains lined with bricks under the floors of the rooms. The palace was richly decorated. Particularly magnificent is the carved stucco which demonstrates an unusual variety of geometrical and floral designs and inscriptions. On some fragments colour has been preserved: the deeper parts of the pictures is coloured by blue and red which intensifies the light and shade effect. Big skill and imagination was displayed by the masters in laying the floors in "parquet" designs with baked bricks. The palace lasted long and was repaired, reconstructed and completed several times. In the 11th century its southern higher part presented the complex with two wide domed corridors intersecting each other and divided in four parts. The northern group of rooms was situated somewhat lower. It was intersected by a corridor-like ascent leading to one of the domed corridors of the southern part.

The defence system of Khulbuk citadel has not been excavated. But the Kala-i-bolo and the palace in Khulbuk were simultaneously, both palaces and fortresses, defined their sizes and shapes.

Among the above-mentioned palaces three others are of a completely different type. They are freely spread over a large area and had defensive functions. The suburban palace near Gazna⁸¹ is splendid. It was the residence of Gaznavid Masud III (1099-1115 A.D.) the construction of which as one of the inscriptions indicates, was completed in 1112 A.D. It is a large trapez in form territory surrounded by a wall. The centre of the palace itself is a large rectangular yard of 50.6 metres in length and 31.9 metres in width.

The central part of this yard, the area of which is 40.4×23.5 square metres, is laid with marble and surrounded by a wide pathway which is also laid with marble tiles. In the centre of the four sides of the courtyard, there are four *aiwans*: one of them is much deeper—it is the entry lobby, the opposite one leads to the

81. Scerrato U., 1959; Bombay A., 1966.



**The Southern Portal of the Mosque Magoki Attari
(Second-half of 12th C. Bukhara)**

throne hall. On the sides of the *aiwans* there are 32 entrances leading to other rooms of different sizes and meant for different purposes. The decorative design of the niches on the side of the palace is marvellous. In the lower part they were lined with marble panels covered with floral and geometrical carved ornaments and with a line of the *kufi* inscription. The writing of this inscription is extremely exquisite and in contents it is the verses in the honour of the Gaznavid rulers written in Tajik-Farsi language.

This is one of the oldest epigraphic monument in Farsi. The walls above the panels and the domes of the entrances were decorated with carved terracota and carved stucco, coloured in yellow, red and blue shades.

Another suburban palace was excavated at the settlement of the old Termez.⁸² Here in the centre of rectangular yard is a pond, opposite the entrance is the arc of the *aiwan* through which the people entered the hall of audience—a big rectangular room divided in three parts by two rows of massive rectangular columns to support it. These walls and supports were lined with figured and carved baked bricks in such a way that an effective relief design was obtained. In the 12th century this entire brick decor was covered by carved alabaster. The design is divided in wide stripes and rectangular panel. Here are geometrical and floral pictures, depictions of fantastic animals and inscriptions.

Not dwelling upon the planning of complicated complex in Lashkar-i-bazar⁸³ let us pay attention to the richness and versatility of its decorative design among the methods of which paintings should be mentioned specially. On the walls of the hall of audience of the southern palace around 50 figures of armed warriors—the guards of the Gaznavid king—were preserved. The paintings were preserved in the other hall as well which was meant for feasts: here are richly clad courtiers and on one column there is the bent face of a youngman. The picture is plain. According to known written sources this kind of painting became widespread.

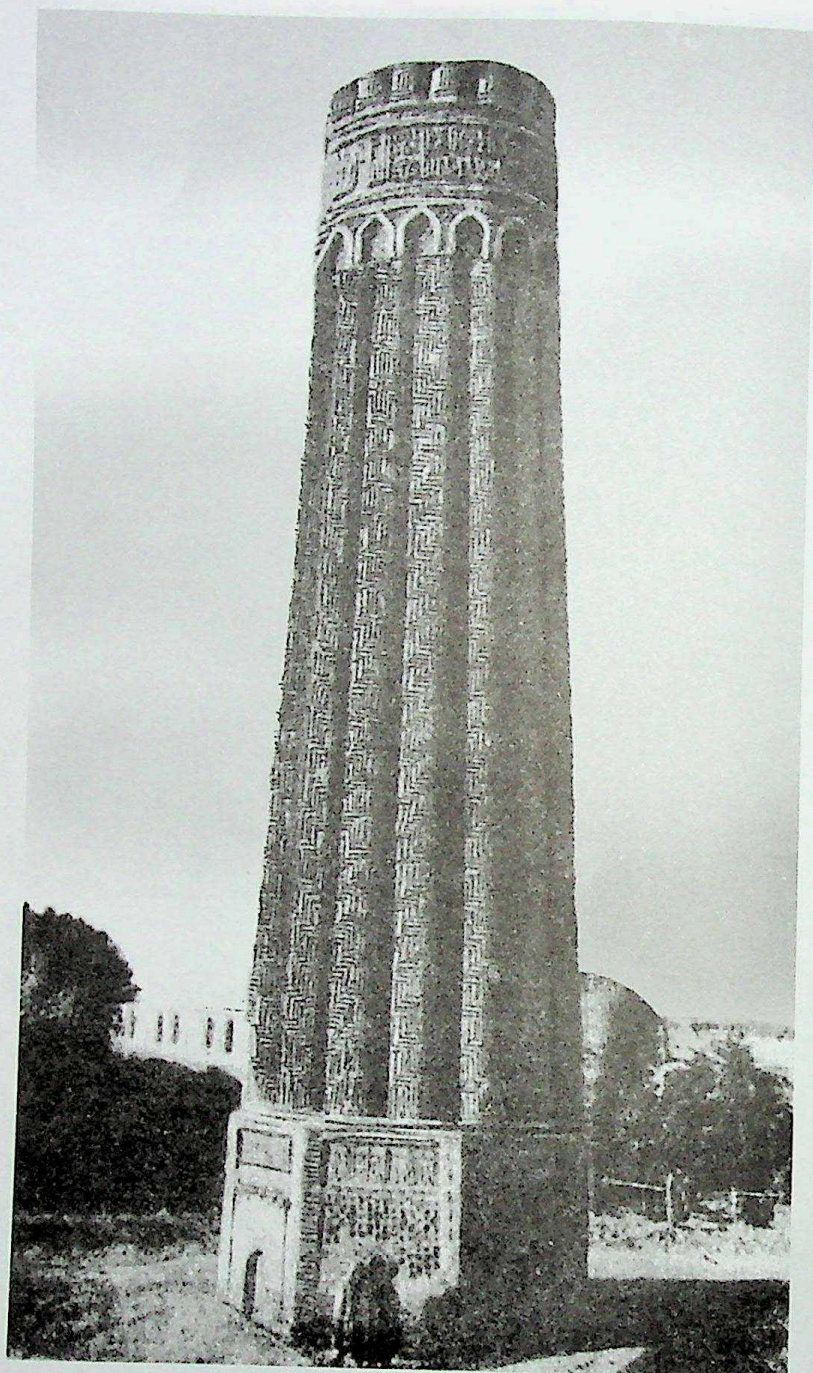
One of the marvellous monuments of architecture is Rabat-i-malik (the 11th century). From inside, the yard is surrounded by rows of similar narrow rooms. The outer walls are made from raw bricks and only the lining is of baked bricks; the entrance portal and the tops of the corner towers are of baked bricks. Slightly slanted in imitation of the fortress—the walls of the main facade carry embossed decorations, resembling from outside massive closed semi-columns. In decoration of the portal are used the relief brick designs, carved stucco and terracota and even more ancient inscription than in the Gazna palace in the Farsi language. In Rabat-i-malik the tradition and new traits are harmoniously belended, the embossings and the main portal do not look like a combination of two different elements.

82. Zhukov V.D., 1945; Pugachenkova G.A., Rempel L.S., 1965, pp. 190-192 (on pp. 406-407 is given the list of literature).

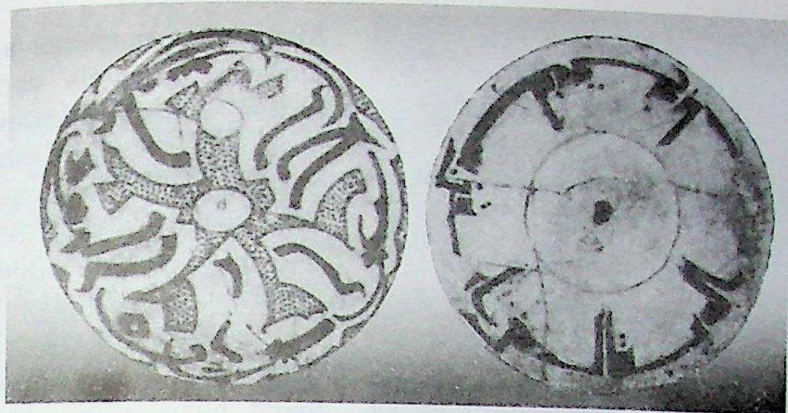
83. Arunova M.P., 1959, pp. 91-93; Pugachenkova G.A., 1963, pp. 114-121.



Minaret of Kalyan 1127 A.D. Bukhara



Minaret in Jarkurgan 1108/09 A.D.



Central Asian Glazed Ceramic of the 11th Century



**Carving on Ganch in the 12th Century Palace of the
Ruler of Termez**

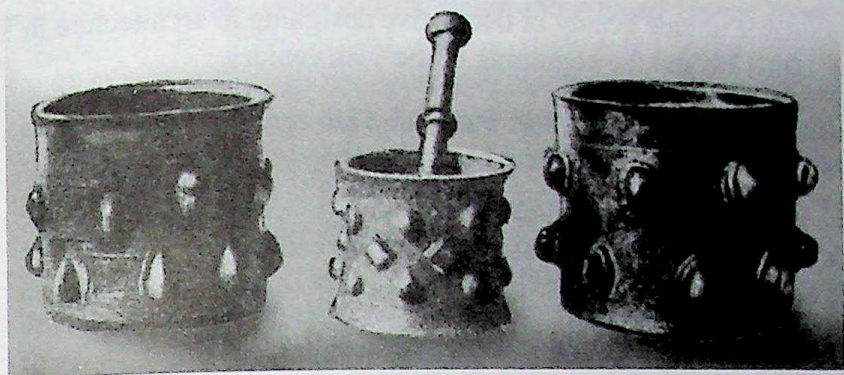


Bronze Jug 11th-12th Century

Many more monuments, mosques, minarets and particularly mausoleums have survived till our times. The mosque Diggaron in the settlement of Hazra (not far away from Bukhara) is a cube with a central dome standing on four round pillars with side passages covered by special domes. The mosque in Termez initially had the looks of an open three-domed *aiwan*, then the number of pillars and, domes resting on them were added and open mosque changed into a closed one. The mosque Magok-i-Attari in Bukhara (12th century) has six pillar-supports,

12 domes and portal entrances. In the mosque Lashkar-i-bazar the dome rests on four pillars and the side passages are covered with the rows of small domes.

Very different in form and proportion are the minarets of this period: massive and monumental as the round minaret in Bukhara, the minaret in Vabkend near Bukhara is completely different—well-proportioned and elongated. The surface of Jarkurgan minaret (Surhan Daria region of Uzbekistan) is decorated with embossings. Minaret of Masud III near Gazni has the form of a star. The minarets in Jam have octahedral foundation and three circulars in plan narrowing upward links.



Central Asian Bronze Mortar 11th-12th Centuries

In this period mausoleums of secular as well as religious persons in were constructed, either completely from baked bricks or from a combination of baked and raw bricks. These mausoleums are with domes, more frequently with portals and sometimes without them. But they do not repeat each other, each one is unique. In each one the same idea has found its realisation. The mausoleums of Sultan Sanjar in Merv and of Abu Said in Meihen (Turkmenia), Karakhanid mausoleums in Uzgend (Kyrgyzia), mausoleums in the settlement of Sayat near Shaartuz and Khoja-Nakhshran near Rezar, the architectural construction in Chorku (Tajikistan) and several others are bright and are glorious pages added by the architects of the 11th-12th centuries in the history of Central Asian architecture.

A high development and perfection was attained, in this period, applied arts. Splendid are the samples of carvings on alabaster, wood and marble and carved terracota. The masters are inexhaustible in creation of floral and geometrical designs and fantastic living creatures. Particularly beautiful are the inscriptions which are written in exquisite *kufi* or *naskh*. A big decorative effect was sometimes achieved by very simple means: the designed brick-laying by the use in the decor of trimmed polished, designed and also glazed small bricks. Many methods of decorative finishing of monumental structures repeat and develop traditions of the preceding period, but the masters also introduce something new. A combination of both of them create an

immutable unique beauty of decorative designing in architecture in the 11th-12th and the beginning of the 13th century.

Literature and Sciences in the 11th-12th and Beginning of the 13th Centuries

The political changes, which were taking place at the end of the 10th century, that is, the collapse of the Samanid state, conquest of Maverannahr by the Karakhanids and transfer of Khorasan to the Gaznavids could not but leave their imprint on the sciences and the literature of the Tajiks. The growth of science and culture of peoples of Central Asia, which had just started, the development of the Dari language and Persian-Tajik literature were hampered, to some extent, by wars and internecine conflicts.

The emergence of the empire of Mahmud Gaznavid and the unification of the entire territory of Khorasan, Chaganyan, Khuttalyan, Tokharistan, the main part of present Iran and northern India around one center, created some conditions for further development of science and literature.

In this period the relations developed between Baghdad from one side and Central Asia, particularly Khorasan and Tokharistan, from the other. The ideological influence of Baghdad on the territory of the Gaznavid state in Maverannahr and Khorasan grew immensely.

Under the Gaznavids, the Arab language spread widely. The Diwan who managed the state correspondence in the beginning conducted all deals in the Dari language, but later he switched over to the Arabic language completely. In the administration of the Diwan, people fluent in Arabic language were given work. Starting with the Gaznavid period, Arabic words and phrases began entering the Tajik language more and more.

The Tajik literature was concentrated in the Gaznavid state predominantly in the court. Literary sources indicate that in the court Sultan Mahmud gathered dozens of poets. Mahmud patronised literature for the sake of imparting grandeur to the court and for his own glorification, that is why the genre of panegyric ode (*kasids*) got such a wide development.

One of the most well-known poets-ode writers who was given the title of "king of poets" in the court of Sultan Mahmud was a

native of Balkh—Abul Kasim Hasan ibn-Ahmad Unsuri (born in the 60s of the 10th century, died in 1039 A.D.). After receiving education he, through the brother of Sultan Mahmud, Amir Nasr, got into the court of the Gaznavid Sultans. Unsuri took part in most of the campaigns of Mahmud and greater part of his *kasids* were dedicated to glorification of the victories of the Sultan. Contemporaries speak about Unsuri as a great master of words. To his pen belong (available only in excerpts) love poems *Masnavi*, particularly “Vamik and Arza” based on the ancient Greek plot. Unsuri inculcated in the Tajik-Persian literature the new style of panegyric (*kasids*) with complicated rhetorical figures and gave rationalistic approach to the figurative style.

Outstanding court poets were Abu-l-Hasan Ali Faruqi (died 1038 A.D.) and Abu-n-Najm Ahmad Manuchihri (died 1041 A.D.). On the whole, for the poetry of Gaznavid circles panegyric and hedonistic topics are characteristic. The poets of this period continue to develop genres which existed during the Samanids. The Gaznavid poets enriched the arsenal of means of portrayal in Persian-Tajik literature, worked out new stylistic methods and poetic figures. The growth of science, which started in 10th century in conditions of state independence, continued in the 11th century as well. The outstanding scholar and scientist of this period was Abu Ali ibn-Sina who has been already mentioned above.

The other great scientist of this period was Khwarezmian Abu Raikhan Mohammad ibn-Ahmad Biruni (973-1051 A.D.). Biruni was born in the suburb of Khwarezm. According to the legend he devoted all the days, except annual festivals of Navruz (the spring festival of new year on 21 March) and Mehrgan (the festival of harvest on 21st September), to his scientific work.

Biruni had great interest in travelling which he undertook with a scientific purpose. One of the places where he lived for a comparatively long period was the region of Jurjan (Gurgan) which was situated on the territory near the Caspian Sea. During his stay there, the ruler of Jurjan was Qabus ibn-Vushmagir (976-1012 A.D.). Qabus was considered to be an educated person, an expert on literature and patron of science. He himself wrote several books. In 1000-1003 A.D. Biruni completed his

work under the title *Al-asar al-bakiya an-al kurun al khaliya* ("Monuments of the past generations, abbreviated chronology"). In it he described the calendars and system of chronology and also the festivals of the Sogdians, ancient Khwarezmians, Persians, Greeks, Jews, Christians and Muslims. This work is the most significant source on the history of the peoples of Central Asia and the entire East. In the autumn of 1003 or the spring of 1004 Biruni returned to Khwarezm. Here he met many great scholars who had fled from Bukhara and other cities of Maverannahr and Khorasan and collected in Khwarezm after the political changes at the end of the 10th century. Sources note that Khwarezm Shah Mamun II patronised the scientists including Biruni. But in 1017 A.D. Mahmud Gaznavid, after the seizure of Khwarezm, took Biruni with him to Gazna. Thus the subsequent scientific work of Biruni was done in Gazna.

Biruni took part in the campaigns of Sultan Mahmud and being in India he studied Sanskrit there and also the customs and traditions of the people of the country. On return from India he wrote a book *Tahrir ma li-l-Hind min makala maqbula fi-l-aql au marzula* ("Explanation of the teaching of the Hindus in accord with reason or rejected by it"), which is one of the important sources on the history of India.

Biruni left behind several works on astronomy, geometry and astrology. One of them was written in Gazna in 1030 A.D. for Khwarezmian woman, the daughter of al-Hasan about whom nothing is known. The second work, *Al-Qanun al-Masudi fi-l-khaya va-n-nujum* ("Masud's Laws on astronomy and stars"), was written between 1030 and 1036 A.D. and dedicated to Sultan Masud. This work of Biruni is an authentic astronomical encyclopaedia of the East in medieval times.

Biruni authored a large number of scientific works but many of them have not reached us. A medieval Arab scholar-traveller Yakut wrote that in one of the mosques of Merv among other documents he came across a list of the work of Biruni running into 60 pages. During the last few years, in some libraries of the world, were found hitherto unknown works of Biruni.

Biruni made some discoveries which overtook the level of the knowledge of his times to such an extent that sometimes they

come close to some of the data of the present day science. Such, for example; are the theories of Biruni on the history of the landscape of north Indian plains and on the history of the change of the flow of the Amu Daria⁸⁴.

Biruni was completely alien to the feelings of religious fanaticism and hostile attitude towards the culture of non-Muslim people. Thus all his works on India are imbued with a spirit of the highest respect for the great Indian culture. That is why Biruni and his works are very popular in India and Pakistan.

During the first half of the 11th century, historiography was quite developed. Abu Nasr Utbi (one of the courtiers of Mahmud Gaznavid) composed in the Arabic language *Tarikh-i-Yamini*⁸⁵ dedicated to the Sultan in which he gave a lot of important information about the rule of Sebuktegin and Mahmud.

One of the greatest historians of the Gaznavid period is Abu Said Gardizi⁸⁶. In the period, between 1048-1052 A.D., Gardizi wrote a book in Tajik language with the title *Zein al-Akhbar* ("The beauty of information").

An outstanding historian of Gaznavid period is Abul Fazl Beikhaki (around 996-1077 A.D.). Abul Fazl worked as a secretary of the Department of Communications under the Gaznavids for 19 years and was an eye-witness to almost all significant events of that period. He has left behind a historical chronicle in Tajik language consisting of 30 volumes.⁸⁷ However from this significant work of history only a few volumes have survived in incomplete form, narrating about the rule of Sultan Masud and about the events of his epoch known under the name *Tarikhi Masudi* or else *Tarikhi Bekhaki*.⁸⁸

In the state of the Karakhanids science and literature was in a state of decline in this period.

84. See Biruni, 1950, 1957, 1963.

85. "Tarikhi-i-Yamini" — "The History dedicated to Yamin" — from the word "yamin" — "right hand" because one of the titles of Mahmud was "Yamin-ad-daula" — "The right hand of the Empire".

86. Gardiz — the name of the locality situated at a distance of one passage from Gazna on the road towards India.

87. It is mentioned in sources under different names.

88. Russian translation Abul Fazal Bekhaki. 1962.

As Mohammad Aufi writes in his anthology of 13th century, from among the Karakhanid Khans perhaps only one Klych Tamgach Khan gave some importance to the development of science and literature. However, some books can be mentioned which appeared in the 11th century in Maverannahr, for example, *Tarikhi Mulki Turkistan* ("The History of Turkestan") by Majd ad-Din Mohammad ibn-Adnan and others from which only separate excerpts have reached us.

The Tajik literature in Maverannahr in this period also knows some of the talented poets, such as Amak Bukharai (died 1149 A.D.), Suzani Samarkandi (died 1173 A.D.), Rashidi Samarkandi and others who, however, cannot be compared, in significance and creativity, with their predecessors.

Amak and Suzani are like two opposite poles. The creative works of Amak who was a court poet are elegant, he takes the forms of poems to perfection, his poems are mentioned in the manuals on rhetoric as a sample to be followed. On the contrary Suzani, in his poetry, is a typical representative of the city. It is true that he had to write for his livelihood panegyrics for the elite, however, he became famous more for his satire and parodies written in very simple language close to the spoken one. Democratic motifs in his works were continued by the poets of the subsequent periods.

The second half of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century, occupies in the history of the culture of the peoples of Central Asia, a significant place. The union of Maverannahr, Khorasan and Tokharistan around one centre which took place during the Seljukid period resurrected cultural activities in such cities as Nisapur, Merv, Balkh and partially Herat.

To this period relate the creative works of such great representatives of Tajik literature as Asadi Tusi, Nasir-i-Khusrau, Omar Khayyam, Fakhr ad-Din Gurgani, Anwari, Masud Saad Salman, Muizzi, Sabir Termezi and others.

The creative works of these poets were different in their ideological contents. In the works of these poets questions of morals and upbringing, philosophical and humanitarian motives, sometimes bold defence of the interests of the popular masses, appeal against authoritarianism and oppression of the feudals.

Among these poets, particularly distinguished, are Nasir-i-Khusrau, Omar Khayyam and Fakhr ad-Din Gurgani, in whose poems the progressive popular tendencies dominated.

Nasir-i-Khusrau (1004-1088 A.D.) was born in the city of Kabadian on the territory of present Tajikistan.⁸⁹ In his youth he started studying different subjects, he was particularly interested in literature and religious-philosophical questions.

In young age Nasir-i Khusrau got acquainted with the life in the court of Gaznavid Sultans Mahmud and Masud and for sometime he was a big official in finance-taxation department in the court of the Seljukids after which he proceeded on travel. While still young, he travelled to India and some regions of Turkestan and Afghanistan. Nasir-i Khusrau travelled with the aim of studying the way of life and faiths of various peoples. For seven years the poet had been to Hejaz, Asia Minor, Egypt and Syria. He got acquainted with the life, customs and traditions of the local people. After meeting in Egypt the followers of Fatimid Caliphs and heads of Ismailite sect, Nasir-i Khusrau became an ardent follower of Ismailism.⁹⁰ On returning to Khorasan and residing in Balkh Nasir-i Khusrau started openly preaching Ismailite teachings and recruiting its followers. By this he invited the persecution of the Muslim clergy and Seljukid rulers. Hiding from his persecutors he started leading a wandering life, going from one city to another.⁹¹ As Nasir-i Khusrau himself writes, it was a very hard period of his life.

*Scorpion of wandering afflicted my heart,
You would say there is no one more helpless than me.
When I look at my plight, bile of sadness strikes my head.
I ask: Why this high, unjust and ignorant sky has made me the
target of the arrows of time?
If the orbit of universe rotated proportionately, my abode would
only be moon.*

89. According to another assumption a settlement called Kabadian was situated in the vicinity of Balkh.

90. There is an assumption that Nasir proceeded to Egypt as a secret Ismailite.

91. About the life of Nasir-i Khusrau see : Bertels A.E., 1959; see also *Nasir Khisrau*, 1954, *Nosiri Khisrau*, 1957; *Nasir-i Khisrau* 1935; *Nasir-i Khusrau*, *Safarnama*, Ashurov G., 1965.

*Knowledge is better than light, spirit, and wealth,
The Great Mind told this to me.
In struggle against forces of time and the sharp dagger of
universe
Faith and knowledge is my army and shield.*

As a result of his wanderings Nasir-i Khusrau wrote a historico-geographical treatise *Safarnama* ("The book of wanderings").⁹²

Besides this Khusrau also wrote several books on Ismailism: philosophical treatises *Zad al-musafirin* ("The provision for the traveller"), *Vajh-i din* ("Face of the Faith"), *Jami al-hikmatain* ("The harmony of two wisdoms", that is, Muslim and antique) and others. However, his poems *Raushanai-nama* ("The book of the light") *Saadat-nama* ("The book of happiness") and entire poetical *diwan*⁹³ are of great value.

In his poems Nasir-i Khusrau touches upon not only religious and philosophical questions but also expresses many progressive educative and moralising ideas; in his poems humanistic and atheistic motifs are also found. In one of his poems addressing God Nasir-i Khusrau writes:

*If thou hast created thy semblance
Then he is not the dice in game
Why Thee mock at Thine creation?
Why Thee created the Satan as well
I have many questions for Thee
But I fear to ask these riddles
If it needs to be speechless
Then Thou should create me an animal
I would argue with Thee on the Day of Judgement
Thou can pull out my tongue
Otherwise Thou hast to answer
So that I can comprehend my ignorance
Order to hide me deep in the Hell*

92. See Nasir-i Khusrau, *Safarnama*.

93. There is an assumption that *Saadat-nama* was written not by Nasir but by some other author who also carried the same name and lived in Isfahan in the 14th century.

*What use it is to argue with Thee all the time
When we sincerely pray before Thee
Thou orders the Satan "Lead them astray".
If Thou art pure and sinless.⁹⁴
Then why did Thou create the Satan
In short, so much darkness is there in this case
That I give up divinity as hopeless....
If Thee pays back evil with evil
How Thou art better than me?
Let me be bad but I am created by Thee....
If Thee didn't like me Thou shouldn't have, created me!⁹⁵*

Khusrau writes warmly about the toiling people, peasants and craftsmen, sharply criticises kings, clergy, officials, particularly silver-loving poets—panegyrists.

Till the end of his life Nasir-i Khusrau could not be free from persecutions. After some years of illegal life in Khorasan, Tabaristan and Mazandaran he went to the Pamirs in Badakhshan where in one mountainous village he spent his last days in loneliness.

Omar Khayyam (1048-1131 A.D.) was born in Nisapur where he completed his education and became one of the greatest scholars of the 11th century. Khayyam left behind several scholarly works in the field of astronomy, mathematics, philosophy and other sciences. During the rule of Malikshah Seljukid, he along with other astronomers supervised the preparations for the reform of the calendar.

The outstanding poet of the East, Omar Khayyam became famous for his *rubais* (quatrains). The number of Khayyam's *rubais* is not large but their importance both from literary point of view as well as philosophical contents is great. Great finesse in combination with materialistic and atheistic tendencies make the *rubais* of Khayyam one of the gems of world literature.

*Here is one of his rubais which is characteristic of him:
If I could have power over this evil sky*

94. The word used in Russian translation means perfect.

95. "Anthology" p. 261.

*I would have destroyed it and changed by other one
In order to remove any obstacles to noble aspirations
So that man could live without grief.*⁹⁶

In the *rubais* of Omar Khayyam is depicted a proud free man who recognises neither the authority of the earthly power nor the religious dogmas about the other world.

Among the poets of the 11th century a special place in sharpness of expression of the moods of the urban circles and their critique of the feudals belongs to Fakhr ad-Din Gurgani and his poem *Vis and Ramin* written in 1055 A.D. In this romantic poem the plot of the ancient Pahlevian Parthian love story was used. In it there is a hidden satire, biting mockery of the morals of the kings and the court servants.⁹⁷ In conclusion the poem depicts a picture of social utopia as it was conceived by the city dwellers of that period.⁹⁸

Abu Nasr Asadi Tusi (died about 1070 A.D.) composed *Garshasptnama* ("The book of Gershasp") on the lines of *Shahnama* of Firdausi. The legend about Gershasp is one of the oldest *dastans* of Eastern Iranian people.

Asadi, for the first time, introduced in Tajik literature the form *munazar*—the poetical dispute. By him were written five of such works in which narrate a dispute between the earth and the sky, day and night, spear and arrow, Zoroastrian magician and a Muslim, Arab and Persian. Besides this he compiled a dictionary in which the sample of the works of almost eighty poets of that period are given. The historical significance of this dictionary is great: in it one can find the excerpt from many works of poets of that epoch and of much earlier periods, for example, from *Kalila* and *Dimna* which was written in verse form by poet Rudaki and which is not available to us.

Masud Saad Salman (1046 about 1121 A.D.) was a court poet of the last Gaznavid ruler. Greater part of his life was spent in northern India in Lahore, thus being one of the first representatives

96. Omar Khayyam, 1955. see the editions of texts of *Rubais*: Omar Khayyam 1959; Umari Khaiom. Ruboiot, 1963.

97. Bertels E.E., 1960, pp. 284-285.

98. Fakhr ad-Din Gurgani, 1963 (Preface).

of medieval Tajik-Persian poetry in India, where subsequently the poetry of Persian language had spread widely. On calumnies of the foes the poet was several times thrown into the dungeon and spent all more than 18 years in prison.

In his works Masud Saad Salman tried to resurrect the traditions of glorifying the might of the Gaznavids and even incorporated in his poems the citations from Unsuri—the “king of poets” of Sultan Mahmud. However, his eulogies are written in simple, clear poetical verses. He skillfully introduces in them the wise dictums, advices, philosophical broodings and splendid descriptions of the battle.

Being in prison, the poet creates deeply touching “prison elegies” in which he describes his unbearable plight and complains of injustice. The fate of this talented poet is deeply tragic. His life as well as his creative works are entangled in the chains of feudal oppression.

Amir Mohammad Muizzi (died around 1140 A.D.) was a native of Nisapur. Most part of his works are odes-panegyrics (*kasids*) in honour of the Seljukids Malikshah and Sanjar in whose courts he worked. Under Sanjar, Muizzi received the title of *Malik Ash-shuara* (“The king of poets”) and became the head of the court poets.

Adib Sabir Termezi was a lyricist poet. He was compelled to serve Sultan Sanjar Seljukid executing his different orders. The latter entrusted him with some work in Khwarezm. Here on the order of Khwarezm Shah, Termezi was captured and was accused of espionage for the Seljukids. Around 1148 A.D. he was drowned in the Amu Daria. The poems of Termezi form the whole *divan* of *Kasids* and lyrical poems (*ghazals*).

Auhad ad-Din Anwari (1126 A.D.-1190 A.D.) was born in the village of Badna in the north of Khorasan. Like many other poets of his period Anwari in his youth studied all sciences of his time. He was invited to the court of Seljukid Sultan Sanjar and wrote many *kasids* dedicated to this ruler. It is commonly recognised that in the works of Anwari, *Kasids* reached their zenith. Written with extraordinary poetic skill they contain beautiful lyrical love verses, philosophical broodings, excellent descriptions and also the glorification of Sanjar. One of his well-

known *kasids* describing the destruction of Khorasan by the Guzs is full of high patriotic feelings. The *ghazals* of Anwari are close to popular lyrics.

In the old age, having fully understood the hollowness and immorality of court poetry, Anwari isolated himself from the court. In his poems of this period there is biting mockery of the poets who sold their talent to the powerful of this world.

*Try to understand what I'm telling about court poets
Don't consider this group of boot-lickers as humans.
Beware that scavenger is needed in any state
The Lord will punish you if you forget it
If garbage piles up around your dwelling
Will you my brother remove it without scavenger
And poet-slave is not needed by any one
The household of universe will not take his help.
If you have to seek job for livelihood
Give up poetry and carry garbage.⁹⁹*

Along with outstanding poetic works we come across in the Tajik-Persian classic literature of this period also the classic example of prose works. Such, for example are the political treatise of the Vazir of Seljukid Nizam al-Mulk *Siyasatnama* (The book on governance of state), work on literary criticism by Nizami Aruzi of Samarkand *Chahar makala* (Four conversations), manual of poetry by Rashid ad-Din Vatvat *Hadaik as-Sihr* (The gardens of magic), *Sindbadnama* by Zahiri Samarkandi and *Makamati Hamidi* (The *makams* of Hamid), by Hamid ad-Din from Balkh.

Siyasatnama is a highly valuable historical source containing criticism of the system of governance from position of the supporter of centralised feudal state under the Seljukids. After the death of Nizam al-Mulk *Siyasatnama* was edited and in the text some additions were made. However, even in the form in which we have received it, it represents a valuable monument of the prose of the 11th century. The language of the book is simple and comprehensible.

99. Anthology, p. 304.

Chahar makala of Nizami Aruzi is the most important source for understanding literary and cultural life contemporaneous to the author and preceding his times. The conversations which constitute this work are dedicated to the professions of the court secretary, poet, astrologer and doctor. Each conversation gives the characteristics of one of these professions which is illustrated by ten educative stories about the outstanding persons of corresponding profession. The book gives more information about conditions of life of the cultural figures of this period than any other source. Particularly valuable, is the "conversation" dedicated to poets which describes their hard conditions in the feudal state.

Hadaik as-Sihr by Rashid ad-Din Vatvat represents by itself a detailed analysis of the forms of the poems of the period, particularly of poetical figures and characters. It contains interesting aesthetic evaluations and judgements.

*Sindbadnama*¹⁰⁰ by Zahiri Samarkandi is written on the topics of didactical novel about treachery of women which were popular in the East. The fascinating plot of the narration served the author as an opportunity to introduce many parables describing in a captivating form the situation of the "science of governance" in the country. Many parables, in a disguised form contain the criticism of the rulers and quite a biting irony is aimed at them.

The book *Makamati Hamidi* is written in a rhythmic prose and contains twenty-four engaging *makoms* representing themselves as an original combination of novel, parable, riddle and sayings on didactical topics.

The science of the period is also represented by many new names. Imam Fakhr ad-Din Mohammad ibn-Omar Razi (1150-1219 A.D.) lived in Rei and Herat where he was engaged in a teaching job and preaching. He wrote many scientific works on medicine, astronomy and mathematics.

Abul Kasim Mahmud Zamakhshari Khwarezmi (1074-1143 A.D.) was one of the outstanding researchers of vocabulary and Arabic grammar. The Arabic-Persian dictionary was compiled by him. Abu Bakr Abd al-Kahir ibn-Abd ar-Rahman Jujani (died 1108 A.D.) was a specialist in the field of grammar.

100. Zahiri Samarkandi, 1960.

Zain ad-Din Ismail Jurjani (died between 1135-1137 A.D.) came on the invitation of Khwarezm Shah Kutb ad-Din Mohammad ibn-Anushtegin to Khwarezm in 1110 A.D. He wrote in the Tajik language his work *Zahirai Khwarazmshahi* ("The treasury of Khwarezm Shah"). This work based on the "cannons" of Ibn Sina consists of ten books discussing the sphere of use of medicine, the anatomy, reasons and symptoms of illnesses, hygiene, diagnostics and prognosis of the course of illness, methods of treatment, poisons and anti-venoms and pharmacology.

Zahirai Khwarazmshahi was translated in ancient Jewish, Turkish and Urdu languages.

The Spread of Sufism and its Influence on Tajik-Persian Literature

One of the most significant peculiarities of this period is the penetration of Sufi ideas in literature. The word Sufism in scientific literature in European languages and its equivalent *tasavvuf* in the literature in Arabic, Tajik and Farsi languages, combines on the basis of the existence of special form of mysticism a lot of extremely varied in class, nature, teachings and ideological theories which had and still have circulation on the vast territory of expansion of Islam.

Sufism grew on the stilts of Islam. It widely used Koran, Hadis and its other elements. However, many forms of Sufism, particularly in the early stages of its development, because of the completely special interpretation in it of the elements of Islam, became the expression of opposition to the orthodox dogma. That is why the feudal rulers and orthodox clergy persecuted many Sufis (in 922 A.D. Husain ibn-Mansur Khallaj was brutally executed, in 1191 Shihab ad-Din Suhrawardy was murdered in the prison).

Sufism came into existence in the 8th-9th centuries in Iraq. Initially it took the form of opposition by mysticism directed against luxury and hypocrisy of the aristocracy. In Sufi preaching of denial of all the earthly joys, and the preaching of asceticism, found expression of the growing protest of the craftsmen and lower strata of cities and villages against the oppression by feudals

and the unjust distribution of wealth.¹⁰¹ The first Sufis taught that private property, wealth, luxury, pampering are root of all evil. They wore rough simple clothes made from sheep wool (“*hirka*”, “*suf*” from where it is supposed, the word Sufi came, and lived the life of a hermit.

In the 11th century Sufism became widespread in Khorasan and Maverannahr. Sheikh Abu Said (died 1049 A.D.) had built in Nisapur an abode of a dervish and conducted there the preachings and dispute with the theologians, and Sheikh Abul Kasim Kusheiri (died 1073 A.D.) created a theoretical work of Sufism.

Under the influence of the clergy and feudals there appeared a new form of Sufism. Some of the Sufis started appealing to people to be obedient to the rulers, to follow the *shariat* and piety. A more significant role in the fusion of Sufism with orthodox Islam and in creation of special form of Sufism that corresponded with the interests of the feudals was played by a great theologian and philosopher Mohammad Gazali (1058–1111 A.D.).

The essence of Pantheistic mystic teaching of Sufism consisted in the fact that all varieties of the dead and live nature were finally the emanation of God (*al-hakk*—the truth) impregnated with His spirit. Everything in earthly material world looked as the reflection of the other spiritual world. Man, who is the last creation of God—the Absolute, has to strive for fusion with “truth”. For this man should reject all the earthly things and suppress in himself all the desires and wishes except one—the wish for fusion with God. In order to pursue this path (*tarikati*) of fusion it is necessary to find a teacher to become an obedient tool of his and blindly fulfil his instruction and order. As it is indicated in Sufi literature, the pupil should be like a corpse in the hands of bath giver to the corpse.

The Sufi sheikhs and elder mentors gradually gained great authority and political power. In their hands were hundreds of obedient pupils—*murids*. The ruling classes quickly understood the advantage of attracting sheikhs to their side and many Sheikhs became the retinue of the rulers. However, some of the Sheikhs were still closely associated with craftsmen who created

101. K. Marx and F. Engels, Vol. 7, p. 378.

organizations on the model of the Sufis (*futuvva*). On the basis of these associations created by the Sufis there appeared a unique order of the knights engaged in *jihad*—"wars against infidels" (in Georgia, north Caucasus and India). After the 11th century many of the Sufi sheikhs associated with the rulers themselves openly became big landowners. For example Khoja Ahrar who lived in the 15th century and is buried in Samarkand possessed colossal riches and vast landed estates.

Other sheikhs on the contrary, with their organised military force, were on the side of the popular masses struggling against the feudals. They insisted on equality of property and even sometimes partially achieved it; as for example Sheikh Hasan Jury in the 14th century during the uprising of Sarbedars. Thus in Sufism during the whole medieval period there were atleast two trends—feudal and popular. The latter was associated with the cities' circles of craftsmen who were expressing protest and serving the goal of self-defence of the masses against feudals. Along with asceticism, rejection of all earthly comforts; which was obligatory for many orders, passive contemplative direction that was necessary during initial apprenticeship under the elder mentor in all the orders, the Sufis preached love for human beings and they did not stop before armed struggle for their goals. It would be wrong to think that all the Sufis, who struggled with arms in hand against the feudals and foreign oppressors, had lost their links with the "authentic" ascetic Sufism.

In the field of ideology the protest of Sufis, notwithstanding its many valuable features, was a limited one because of the religious mystic form of Sufism which distortedly and unrealistically reflected the real social relations. Notwithstanding this fact, during many periods of history some trends of Sufism which did not lose their live links with craftsmen and urban lower classes, appear to be more progressive for the given period of history albeit with historically limited social trends. This explains the close links with Sufism of many outstanding poets and thinkers of the past (Baba Kuhi, Ansari Herati, Sanai, Attar, Nizami Ganjavi, Jalaluddin Rumi, Amir Khusrau Dehelwi and Jami). Some of them were associated with feudal Sufism (Ansari), however, they were also influenced by the common Sufi literary traditions: addressing the

masses in simple, close to popular language, introducing in poems widely known popular parables, fables and sayings, following the popular ideals of nobleness and humanity. All these features enrich the poetry of the Sufis.

It would be wrong to think that the outstanding poets of the medieval period used the Sufi phraseology (it can be found even in the works of Ibn Sina) only because of the fear before fanatics and with the aim of hiding their free thinking. V.I. Lenin, mentioning the ancient philosophers, stood for "the strict historicity in the history of philosophy in order not to attribute to the ancients such "development" of their ideas which we understand but which were absent among the ancients."¹⁰² A complete separation of the thinkers of the past from the social movements of their time needs to be considered non-historical. Not forgetting about historical limitation of each medieval thinker enmeshed in the net of the then dominating religious ideas, it is necessary to differentiate in his creative work everything which was progressive for that epoch.

The spread of the ideology of Sufism, in the social life of Central Asia, was so great that the reactionary feudal Sufism gradually became, particularly in the late mediaeval times, the second leading trend of Muslim religion along with the orthodoxy.

From the above statement, it is clear that from the very beginning the teaching of Sufism, concealed in itself the moments which hampered the development of secular science and rationalistic philosophy. Later during the period of the Timurids and the Bukharan Khanate, feudal Sufism was at the helm of the struggle against any free thinking. At the same time it cannot be ignored that in the Sufi poetry of the different periods oppositional humanistic ideas were manifested. Idolisation of the perfect man in Sufi poetry, very often in mystic form, expressed a high understanding of human dignity. In the period under study there appeared such great theoreticians of Sufism as philosopher Muhammad Gazali and his brother Ahmad Gazali, who propounded a special Sufi theory of mystic love, and also the outstanding poets of Sufi trend—Abdallah Ansari Herati (1005-

102. V.I. Lenin, PSS, Vol. 29, p. 222.

1089 A.D.), Abul Majd Sanai (1050-1131 A.D.) and Farid ad-Din Attar (1119-1190 A.D.).

Abu Hamid Mohammad Gazali (1058-1111 A.D.) was born in Tus and while still in his youth got acquainted with the Sufi teachings. However, he did not become a Sufi at this time. He shifted to Gurjan and Nisapur where he studied theology and soon became an authority among the clergy in this field. The Vazir of the Seljukids Nizam al-Mulk, who had heard about him, invited him as a teacher in the *madrasa* Nizamiya in 1091 A.D. in Baghdad. Here Gazali was entrusted with the task of conducting a discussion with the Ismailites who were the bitterest enemies of the Seljukids, and proving the incompatibility of their teachings with the true Islam. However Gazali did not confine himself to this task and started studying philosophy vigorously, especially the works of Farabi and Ibn Sina. Living in conditions of acute class and political contradictions, which found their ideological expression (as it is characteristic of medieval times) in the struggle of the religious sects and being a follower of policy of centralization of Nizam al-Mulk, he tried to reconcile theology with rationalistic philosophy; the significance of which was clear to him. Having failed completely in this endeavour, Gazali suffered a deep moral crisis and in 1095 declined to teach in the *madrasa* and joined the Sufis.

Abandoning life, Gazali thought that he had gained, as he wrote later, in asceticism "confidence and peace". In subsequent years he travelled a lot, visiting Syria and Mecca where his mystic moods were strengthened even more and wrote in the Arabic language. His main work—*Ihya ulum ad-Din* ("Resurrection of the sciences of Faith") in which he recognised mystic Sufi intuition as the basis of knowledge and love for God as the basis for religion.

At the end of his life, for sometime he again taught in the *madrasa* in Nisapur, thereafter he went to Tus where he lived in a Sufi abode surrounded by a few disciples. There he died.

It is customary to think that Gazali in his work with the help of Sufi ideas "destroyed the rationalistic philosophy in countries where Islam was spread", skillfully combined the Sufi mystical and theological principles of the religion of Islam and thus for a long time prevented the Muslim theology from philosophical

deadlock and discreditation. Infact Gazali, from the positions of Islam, criticised the purely philosophical talks, declared the teachings of the Eastern peripatetics (Farabi and Ibn Sina who developed the ideas of Aristotle) incompatible with religion and gave a theological form to the mystical intuitionism of the Sufis. He played a reactionary role in the history of social thought of peoples of the Near East. It is not accidental that his books, many centuries after his death, were very popular among Sufis close to feudals Sufis and some feudal rulers inclined towards Sufi fanaticism.

However, the works of Gazali, because of his talent and deep knowledge of philosophy, also played another role. In the book *Makasid al-Falasifa* ("The goals of the philosophers") he explained, for example, for the sake of refutation, the main teachings of the peripatetics exactly and clearly and that this explanation was for a long time used as the best textbook on their teachings, independently of the task placed by the author and objectively helped in spreading rationalism. It was translated in the Latin language and was at one time considered, in medieval Europe, the best and concise account of peripatetic ideas.

In his last work *Al-Munkiz min ad-dalal* ("The saviour from delusion") Gazali perhaps, having understood the danger of religious obscurantism and complete prohibition of all sciences in general, on which reactionary representatives of Muslim clergy insisted, expresses extremely contradictory opinions. For example, he declares Aristotle, Farabi and Ibn Sina as "infidels" from the point of Islam and at the same time points to their great services in the field of development of rationalistic logic; rejects the atheistic refutations of religion which are based, from his point of view, on exaggeration of the role of exact scientific knowledge. But at the same time criticises the ignorant Muslim obscurantists who declared that the purity of orthodox Islam ought to be guided by means of prohibition of all sciences related to philosophy as contradictory to revelations in the Koran. Gazali defends, from the reactionaries, the right of the scientists to exactly calculate and predict the time of the solar and moon eclipses (sudden "divine signs", according to the clergy), the right to develop mathematics, to use logic and to use practical medicine. It need not be thought

that Islam is based on ignorance, declared Gazali, ignorance being a crime against religion itself. By means of such casuistry he tried, perhaps, to save branches of science near to his heart. At the end of the book, however, he says that nature does not act by itself and only according to the will of God alone. Thus he capitulates before orthodoxy.

The entire creative path of Gazali is the tragedy of a talented thinker who helplessly gave up his positions of rationalistic thought before the then rapidly growing pressure of the reactionary clergy.

In the creative works of Ansari, it is necessary to note the form of reasoning used by him for the first time (still in prose) which is alternated with interesting popular parables that played subsequently an important role in the development of the composition of didactical poems (the creative works of Attar, Nizami, Jami and other poets). Very interesting are his *rubais*, sometimes close to the popular ones.

Sanai, in general being a poet mystic, in some cases rose above his usual motifs and religious limitations and then in his contradictory poetry reflected in an original form the moods of the popular masses. As an example, we can give the appeal of an enraged old woman beggar to Sultan Mahmud in his poem *Khadikat al-hakaik* ("The garden of truth"). To the question of Sultan to whom she complains, the old woman answers:

*Poor is me, living in squalor—friends help
Two daughters and one small son—their father perished in hard
times
Bend my back harvesting the fields, gathering wheat ear
Exhausted by everyday toil, can't say old woman lives in
prosperity
Why do you drive me away like curse of God?
After today will come tommorow, how long will you suppress
your subjects!
How long will you plunder their property!
I was happy to work whole month in the garden of the rich
For handful of grapes, yesterday on salary day
I received grapes, a handful of grapes earned by me with a joyful
heart*

*Suddenly I saw five warriors waiting beside the road
Stop! my tired legs gave way under me
One of them grabs my grapes, sobbing I try to pull the basket
back
The other threatening me hits me with a whip
So that I don't scream he said: "I'm the servant of Sultan
Mahmud!
Submit and shut up if your life is dear to you
Go and try to move the heart of Sultan by your tears
Go your way, you beggar!" I had to keep silent for the sake of life
I learnt the way you go for hunt, stood for half a day waiting for
you
My enraged heart didn't know peace
Now when you know about the wicked people
You be fearful of my hot prayer!
If you don't give justice to me I will complain to God of might
and glory.¹⁰³*

The same motifs we find in Attar's works who did not accept the reforms of Sufism implemented by Gazali. His early poem, (*Khusrau and Gul*) is a romantic love story which goes back to a great novel. In it is visible only a slight hint of mysticism. *Mantik at-tair*, in spite of the existence in it of a Sufi scheme set in a frame, is a brilliantly written didactical allegorical poem alternating with interesting parable and containing a criticism of feudal morals. The talent of Attar, as narrator manifested in his other poems, was higher than that of Sanai. The collection of Attar's poems (*diwan*) does not contain panegyrics at all because he himself was a pharmacist and did not present poems to the aristocracy for livelihood. These are lyrical, philosophical and mystic poems. To him belongs, written in marvellous prose, *tazkira*, the biography of outstanding Sufis.

Leading role in the development of humanitarian ideas in this period was played by a great Azerbaijani poet Nizami Ganjavi (died 1209 A.D.) who wrote in Persian language and created the famous "five poems" (*Hamsa*) in response to which dozens of

103. "Anthology" pp. 298-299.

poets in Persian, Uzbek, Turkish, Azerbaijani and other languages later wrote the poetic answers.

In this poetic competition, which was going on for many centuries, such illustrious poets took part as Amir Khusrau Dehelwi, Ali Sher Novai and Abd-ar Rahman Jami.

In this period a new literary style, often named as "Iraqi", came to substitute the "Khorasan" style. If "Khorasan" or "Turkestan" style was comparatively simple and close to the spoken language, the "Iraqi" style is characterised by considerable decoration, rhetorical figures and grandiloquence which is typical of the poetry of the epoch of developed feudalism. These traits particularly were manifested brightly in the court panegyric poetry.

Chapter 4

Tajik People in the Chengezid State

1. The Mongol Conquest

Economy of Central Asia under the Mongols

The Invasion of Central Asia by the Hordes of Chengez Khan

In the second decade of the 13th century the state of the Khwarezm Shah which had greatly expanded by this time included in it besides Khwarezm and Maverannahr the territory of present Afghanistan and most parts of Iran. However, the state was extremely weakly centralised. Some of the local rulers only formally recognised themselves as vassals of Khwarezm Shahs but in reality they ruled over their regions almost independently.

The power of Shah Mohammad was not strong: not only the toiling masses of the subjugated people did not support him who were under the double exploitation — that of the local ruler and the Khwarezm Shah — but also military-feudal aristocracy and influential clergy tried to limit the power of the Shah and were hostile to him. To this intra-family disputes were added: the mother of Khwarezm Shah Mohammad — Turkan Khatun — an authoritarian and energetic woman was against Mohammad and instigated against the court, a group of Kipchak military commanders who were by themselves a serious military power.¹

1. Among the Khwarezm Shahs existed a tradition of taking as wife a daughter of whatsoever prominent military commander from among the tribal Kipchak leaders (from the tribe of Kangli). Around the queen (Khatun) usually formed her own court faction supported by the military

In such circumstances the state of the Khwarezm Shahs was invaded by the martial Mongol tribes under the leadership of Chengez Khan.

The main occupation of the nomadic Mongols was cattle-breeding, besides they were engaged in hunting as well. Between them and the ethnically close to them neighbouring tribes, there was an active barter trade.

According to the account given by historian Juveini, the Mongol army was divided in tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of hundreds, was highly disciplined and mobile. All the Mongol tribes were obliged to join a military campaign any time.

By the beginning of 13th century in the social system of the Mongols there appeared in an embryonic form feudal relations. Karl Marx characterises this process as follows: "In *Yasya* (the common code of laws [of ancient Mongols — B.G.]) there is a mention of the higher estate — *tarkhans* — who were exempt from any taxes, "they did not have to share their booty with others, had constant freedom from punishment nine times. (This form of *feudal rights* appears among all semi-civilized people as a result of war-like way of life.)"²

The grand conquering expeditions of Chengez Khan elevated the class of nomadic feudals not only above the conquered people but above their own co-tribesmen as well. The great Khan and the feudal aristocracy were getting enormously rich but the mass of toiling Mongols — *arats* — eventually became more dependent upon this top brass, impoverished and bankrupt.

The Mongol hordes under the leadership of Juchi — the elder son of Chengez Khan — conquered the "forest people" who lived on the banks of river Yenisei. The Uigurs also submitted to the power of Chengez Khan. Military commander Khublai conquered the northern part of Semirechiye. Chengez Khan led a campaign against northern China and seized Chzhundu (Peking) which was then the capital of the Tszin state.³

co-tribes. From here arose the special role of some queens for example Turkan Khatun, mother of Mohammad Khwarezm Shah.

2. "Archives of Marx and Engels", vol. V, p. 220.

3. Vladmirtsov B. Ya., 1922; 1934; Grousset R., 1944; d'Ohssen C., p. 183.

Afterwards in 1218-1219 A.D. the Mongol troops under the leadership of military commander of Chengez Khan, Jebi, almost without any resistance conquered the territory of the Karakitais (Semirechiye and Eastern Turkestan) and closely approached the borders of the Khwarezm Shahs. In the gradual aggravation and deterioration of the relations between these two states the Central Asian traders played some role. Many rich Central Asian traders who held in their hands the trade between Mongolia and Central Asia even before the two states bordered upon each other, were considered along with the Uigurs main advisers of Chengez Khan in matters of organization and structure of the state, rule of Mongolia. Chengez Khan regularly got information about the internal situation in the state of Khwarezm Shahs through these traders. Khwarezm Shah Mohammad who had at this time at his disposal larger forces than Chengez Khan behaved arrogantly towards him. In 1218 A.D. with the knowledge of Mohammad in the border fortress of Atrar situated on the bank of Syr Daria, the troops of Khwarezm Shah plundered caravan of Central Asia traders sent by Chengez Khan who were suspected of espionage. The caravan consisting of 500 camels was carrying gold, silver, Chinese silk, valuable furs and other valuable goods. In it were 450 people — traders, Mongol dignitaries, people enjoying the confidence of the Mongol Khan. The troops of the Khwarezm Shah looted these traders, sold all their goods and sent the money received to the capital of the Khwarezm Shah.

Having come to know about the events in Atrar (so-called Atrar Catastrophe) Chengez Khan demanded from the Khwarezm Shah to extradite the vice-regent of Atrar to him who was guilty for what had happened and compensation for the losses. However, the emissary of Chengez Khan who arrived in the capital of the Khwarezm Shah with this demand was executed on the order of Mohammad and his companion's beard was shaved (according to another version all of them were murdered). This provocative behaviour of Mohammad hastened the invasion of Central Asia by Chengez Khan.

Chengez Khan attached great importance to his campaign against Central Asia and made careful preparations for it. Before the beginning of military action information obtained through

Central Asian traders about the number and the level of preparedness of the military forces of the enemy was studied. That is why the invasion of Chengez Khan was not a disorderly and spontaneous move by nomadic Mongols as it is presented by many bourgeois historians, but a deeply pre-planned attack. The local traders served as guides.⁴

As stated earlier Khwarezm was not prepared for defence. Notwithstanding the apparent might, Khwarezm Shah was dependent to a great extent on the military feudal aristocracy. Distrusting his military commanders and local population Mohammad scared of concentrating his troops at one place divided them into small detachments which were deployed at different points. This scatteredness of his military forces facilitated the victory of Mongol troops. While making preparation for the war, the Khwarezm Shah during a year thrice collected taxes which enraged the population.

In September 1219 having approached Atrar, Chengez Khan divided his troops in three parts. A part of the troops he placed at the disposal of his sons — Uktai (Ugedei) and Chagatai — for the siege of Atrar. The other part under the leadership of Juchi was sent by him in the direction of Jend for capturing cities on the bank of Syr Daria and he himself with his son Tului at the head of the main forces advanced towards Bukhara.

The Mongol troops took Atrar by storm, but the citadel of Atrar continued to resist still for full one month (according to another version for six months).

Having captured Atrar the Mongol invaders butchered all the defenders of the city and the citadel.

The troops under the command of Juchi seized Sygnak and butchered all its population after which they quickly captured the cities situated on the lower Syr Daria, looting and destroying them.

4. The sources about the Mongol invasion of Central Asia were analysed in detail by V.V. Bart'old who gave a full account of events linked with this invasion. (Bart'old V.V., 1963b). For sources and literature see also Sruler B., 1955, pp. 463-502.

The detachment of Mongol troops advancing upstream along the bank of Syr Daria captured the city of Binaket on the mouth of the Angren river and killed all the troops left for its defence.

In the beginning of 1220 A.D., Chengez Khan, with his main troops; began an assault on Bukhara. Here he met fierce resistance though the troops defending Bukhara were much less in strength than the attacking Mongol forces. But the resistance did not last long. On the third day of the battle the defenders of Bukhara, surrounded from all sides were forced to stop fighting. Most of the forces, breaking the circle of Mongol troops crossed Amu Daria. Several hundreds of brave fighters, unwilling to leave their native city, locked themselves in the citadel to fight with the invaders upto the end. Only after the moat surrounding the citadel was filled with corpses of men and horses, the Mongols succeeded in capturing it. After capturing, Bukhara, the Mongols murdered thousands of peaceful inhabitants of the city and those left alive were taken as slaves.

After this the troops of Chengez Khan proceeded to Samarkand. Khwarezm Shah Mohammad gave special importance to the defence of Samarkand and concentrated here large troops. The city fortifications were repaired. In the city there was a big garrison (according to Rashid ad-Din of 110 thousand people, according to other sources of 50-60 thousand people). The entire country looked at Samarkand with hope: according to the opinion of the contemporaries the city could withstand the siege for many years. On the third day the besieged made a sortie in which a large detachment took part. Although they succeeded in crushing some Mongol force, in general this counter-attack was unsuccessful. Samarkand people remained entrapped in the siege and many of them perished. This undermined the martial spirit of the defenders which was used by the clergy and the aristocracy.

The Samarkand Qazi and Sheikh al-Islam went to the headquarter of Chengez Khan to begin negotiations for capitulation. At dawn they treacherously opened the city gates and the Mongols entered the city. There started a general butchery and plundering. The Mongols did not harm the betrayers who were under their patronage. Only the defenders of the citadel continued their stubborn resistance. But they were not able, inspite of their

bravery, to withstand the Mongol troops. When the fortifications fell one thousand of brave defenders took shelter in the grand mosque and did not allow the Mongols to come near its walls. But the Mongols managed to set fire to it and the defenders preferred to get burnt than to surrender before the enemy.

More than half of the population of Samarkand perished. Thirty thousand craftsmen were given away to the sons and relatives of Chengez Khan. An equal number was forced to accompany the troops.

The destroyed city was left depopulated. Even after one and a half years, when some people had returned, there was only one-fourth of the former population residing in the city.⁵

During the siege of Samarkand, Khwarezm Shah Mohammad was awaiting the end of the battle on the bank of the Amu Daria. After the city was occupied by the troops of Chengez Khan, Mohammad fled to Iran — Tabaristan — where he was hiding on one of the islands in the southern part of the Caspian Sea and did nothing to organise the struggle against the Mongol invasion.

The Heroic Defence of Khojent — Timur-Malik

The Mongol troops who were entrusted with the task to take Khojent, unsuccessfully besieged this ancient Tajik city for a long time. That is why after the fall of Bukhara and Samarkand they gathered around Khojent tens of thousands of Mongol troops. The besieged people were led by the brave warrior Timur-Malik.⁶

Only after it became clear that further resistance was meaningless, the defenders of the city crossed over to the island situated on Syr Daria (about one kilometre below Khojent), fortified themselves and from there continued their struggle against the invaders.

This island had great advantage for the defence. The Mongols, with the help of prisoners, started constructing a dam across the Syr Daria which could be used for passage to the island. But the warriors of Timur-Malik, covering their boats with thick felts and

5. Chan-chun, 1966, p. 311.

6. Bart'old V.V., 1963b p. 485 onwards; Aini S. 1944.

plastering them with mud so that the arrows of the enemy did not harm them at night and dawn, reached the bank and attacked the invaders, destroying the already erected part of the dam.

The valour of the defenders of Khojent is one of the marvellous pages in the history of Tajik people. Notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy forces, the besieged did not stop their struggle. But when the food supplies were exhausted, Timur-Malik was compelled to leave the island in order to save his remaining warriors. He put them on the boats and at night, in the light of torches, the flotilla sailed down the river. The invaders, as a flock of hungry kites, pursued the sailing vessels on horses along the bank of the river showering their arrows. According to inexact information the Mongol troops overtook them and stretched out a chain across the banks. However, Timur-Malik and his warriors opened the path for the vessels after breaking the extended chain.

Near the city of Jend, Timur-Malik was met by forces of the invaders who constructed a floating bridge of vessels bound with each other and armed with catapults which blocked the way for the Khojentis. The courageous warriors had to disembark on the bank and engage in the last battle with the enemy. In this unequal fight almost all the warriors of Timur-Malik perished. Only he alone with a small group of people managed to escape and reach Khwarezm where the remnants of the defeated troops of the Khwarezm Shah gathered.

In Khwarezm, Timur-Malik collected all warriors capable of fighting and renewed the military campaign against the invaders. He inflicted upon the enemy several big blows and even took away from the Mongols the large city of Yanykent situated on the lower Syr Daria. However, between Timur-Malik and other military commanders of the Khwarezm Shah there was no unity which hampered him from reinforcing his successes and he was compelled to return to Khwarezm.

A stubborn resistance to the troops of Chengez Khan was also offered by Jalala-ad-Din, son of the Khwarezm Shah Mohammad. Along with Timur-Malik who joined him, Jalala ad-Din inflicted several heavy defeats on the Mongol troops, but in the end he was defeated in the battle on the river Indus.

The defence of the cities was organised very badly. Only popular masses bravely defended the cities and settlements, and the administrative officials, noblemen, and the top Muslim clergy made compromises with the invaders in order to save their lives and property and their dominant status. This was the reason why Chengez Khan with less forces than the Khwarezm Shah won one victory after another.

Further Conquests of Chengez Khan in Central Asia

Subjecting the remaining population of Bukhara, Samarkand and Khojent to brutal tortures and sufferings, the invaders, after a short halt, proceeded towards the Karshi steppe and Termez. Having completely destroyed Termez they butchered all its population. After this bloody reprisal, Chengez Khan crossed the Amu Daria and entered the territory of present northern Afghanistan where in 1221 A.D. he captured Balkh and destroyed it completely.

At this time his sons Chaghatai, Uktai and Juchi with a hundred-thousand strong Mongol army besieged the capital of the state of Khwarezm Shah, Gurganj (Urgench). The defenders of Gurganj courageously fought the Mongols for six months. The battle for Gurganj was so fierce that the capture of every block of houses and street caused the invaders heavy losses.

Having seized the city, the invaders butchered all the population except craftsmen, children and women who were enslaved by them. Besides this, enraged by the big losses inflicted on them, they decided to wipe out Gurganj completely from the face of the earth. For this purpose they destroyed the dam on the bank of the Amu Daria and inundated the city with water.

In the beginning of the next year, son of Chengez Khan, Tului captured Khorasan which among other cities, was also fully destroyed which was the most ancient cultural centre of Central Asia — Merv. From all this destruction only a few hundred craftsmen were saved who were enslaved and the rest of population perished.

From the regions populated by the Tajiks only Badakhshan and some adjacent to it mountainous states of Eastern Tajikistan and also some localities in Gur, which were defended by strong fortresses, were not seized by the Mongol troops.

One of the Arab historians Ibn al-Asir (1160-1244 A.D.) being a witness to these awful events, narrates the inhuman actions of the invaders as follows:

"These (hordes of Chengez) did not spare anybody. On the contrary, they killed women, men and children, tearing apart the stomachs of pregnant women, killing even the unborn infants.... The sparks of this disaster spread and its harm was general, it roamed over the regions as clouds driven by wind. The people came out from the outskirts of China and moved towards the regions of Turkestan like Kashgar and Balasagun, from there into the regions of Maverannahr like Samarkand, Bukhara, etc., and capturing them...destroying, killing and looting. Not a single city was spared by the Tartars; while leaving they destroyed everything they were passing through and whatever was not needed by them was burnt. They burnt the heaps of silk as well as other goods."

The Mongol invasion brought to the people of Central Asia numerous sufferings. As a result of arson and plunder the cities of Maverannahr became heaps of ruins and the toiling population was subjected to mass annihilation. Agriculture became neglected.

Karl Marx, characterizing the Mongol yoke, wrote that it "not only weighed heavily but humiliated and consumed the very spirit of the people who became their victim. The Mongol Tartars established a regime of systematic terror. Destruction and mass killings became its constant institutions." According to Marx, Mongol invaders "turned people into cattle and fertile lands and large populated settlements into pastures."⁷

At the same time the heroic struggle of the people of Central Asia against Chengez Khan's invasion which coincided with the rebuff given to the Mongols hordes by the great Russian people had a great historical significance. This struggle weakened the force of the Mongol onslaught and its further expansion to the West.

7. K. Marx, *Secret Diplomatic History of 18th Century*, London, 1899, p. 78.

Economic Life after the Mongol Conquest

Chengez Khan divided the vast empire created by him among his sons.

The elder son Juchi in 1217 got possession of the "forest peoples" territory populating the large territory from the lower Selenga river upto the Irtysh river. By the time of death of Chengez Khan (1227 A.D.) to these territories were added northern part of Semirechiye also, the whole territory populated by the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyzs and the northern part of Khwarezm. The possessions of the second son of Chengez Khan — Chagatai — expanded from the country of the Uigurs upto Samarkand and from the southern part of Altai upto the banks of the Amu Daria. The horde — main forces of the great Khan Uktai — was situated in Tarbagatai. The youngest son of Chengez Khan — Tului, according to traditions of the nomads, owned the main lands of his father.

Maverannahr entered the possessions of Chagatai but actually it was owned by the great Khan Uktai (1229-1241 A.D.) who apportioned a part of the revenue from Maverannahr to Chagatai and his family.

The conquerors could not rule by themselves the territories annexed by them. The rule over Maverannahr was entrusted by Uktai to the biggest trader and moneylender of this region; Mahmud Yalavach. Living in Khojent, Mahmud ruled over this country given to him. At his disposal were all the military detachments of the Mongols stationed in Maverannahr under the leadership of Baskaks whose function was also to look after the realisation of taxes from the population.

The Mongol conquest did not change the social system, established in Central Asia, but it influenced the status of different classes in the country in different ways.

The clergy, traders and big landowners very rapidly became the supporters of the Mongol conquerors. As a historian of the events in the 13th-14th centuries, Rashid al-Din, informs, under Chengez Khan and his successors Uktai Khan and Guyuk Khan — (1246-1248 A.D.) Mongol princes and Khans — generously distributed, among big landowners and traders licenses, on the

basis of which the local population had to perform certain duties and services for them. The conditions of the toilers were equally difficult in both cities and villages.

Peasants and craftsmen, besides the payment to the state of the annual tax on cultivated land (*Kharaj*), had to perform many other obligations. The population had to provide accommodation, food and transport under special counts to the officials, traders, clergy, members of the Khan's family passing through its territory. It was also charged with providing clothes, food rations to the military detachments stationed in the cities and settlements. Craftsmen were placed in a special list who besides rendering the above-mentioned services were obliged to make and supply the Mongol rulers a certain quantity of articles and commodities. Particularly harsh were the conditions of craftsmen who made arms, clothes and shoes.

The Mongol conquest inflicted a hard blow upon the economy of Central Asia. The abuse of power by the local rulers, who arbitrarily increased the taxes and obligations several times, made the conditions of the people quite unbearable. The arbitrariness and oppression, the absence of any type of guarantee for safety in work deprived the population in the villages and cities, left alive, of any stimulus for improvement of economy. Hence during the first decades after the Mongol invasion the condition of the economy worsened even more.

Indicative of this is the condition of urban life and internal changes in money trading. According to the accounts left by Chan-Chun, who visited Samarkand soon after its destruction by Mongols, in the city not more than one-fourth of its population was left, there were many paupers and hungry people but nonetheless the trading did not cease and there were many goods in the market. Subsequently the situation did not stabilise but started rapidly worsening. Samarkand coins of this period give a vivid picture of the intensification of the crisis phenomenon in money trade, the form of crisis and the futility of the attempt of the government to overcome this crisis.⁸

8. Davidovich E.A., 1970a.

In Samarkand, after the Mongol conquest, as early as in the 12th the beginning of and the 13th century, large copper coins were minted which were polished with a thin coat of silver. These silver-coated copper *dirhams* replaced, in circulation, real silver coins: Central Asia had not yet overcome the "silver coin crisis". The first issue of such coins, after the Mongol invasion with the usual Arabic, predominantly religious inscriptions, was annulled and withdrawn from circulation. In 1225 A.D. they were replaced by others, to some extent unusual ones. The main inscriptions on them were not in Arabic but local Tajik language: there appeared the need that people who recognised the coins only by their appearance should know the content of these inscriptions. The contents were "persuasive": the inscriptions informed that the coins were local and meant only for Samarkand within its vicinity; that they were in circulation there. The inscriptions appealed for trust in an understandable native language of the Samarkandis. But the Samarkandis did not trust, otherwise after a lapse of one year there would not have appeared new silver-coated copper *dirhams* which also persuaded and appealed for trust, but this time with some threat: for this purpose in the inscriptions it was importunately thrice stressed that they were the coins of Chengiz Khan himself. But the natives of Samarkand were not scared, otherwise in 1232 A.D. there would not have appeared, on the silver-coated copper *dirhams*, inscriptions in Tajik language with an openly threatening tone: "He who does not accept these coins in Samarkand and its vicinity will be treated as an offender." This meant that Samarkand was undergoing a crisis of money circulation in its worst form: no one wanted to trade in the silver-coated copper coins and there were no other coins in circulation.

Persuasion and threats did not help. The government was forced to issue real silver coins. But this only worsened the situation: real silver had vanished, hidden in stores, and to go back to silver-coated copper *dirhams* was meaningless. Samarkand, which was once upon a time the biggest trade-craft centre of Central Asia, entered "the coinless" period: money trade ceased altogether.

In an even worse situation was the trade in many other large and sometime ago economically very developed regions. For

example, in Fargana, Chach, Termez, Chaganyan and other regions and cities the issue of coins after the Mongol conquest was not renewed. If there was to some extent minimal internal trade, it fell down to the primitive level of payment in kind.

The Uprising of Mahmud Tarabi

Since the 30s of the 13th century, among the population of the agricultural oases and urban craftsmen, a movement against the yoke of foreign and local oppressors started. This movement was especially strong in Bukhara where in 1238 A.D. broke out a rebellion, known under the name of the rebellion of Mahmud Tarabi.⁹

Bukhara was ruled namely by the representatives of local feudal aristocracy (Amirs and Sadr) who oppressed the people no less than the Mongol Khans. That is why it is not astonishing that the first enemy against whom the rage of the rebels was directed was the local ruler of Bukhara.

The leader of the uprising — Mahmud — was from the settlement of Tarab. He was a craftsman who made sieves. On the streets of Tarab and the neighbouring settlements, he addressed people in his angry speeches appealing them to start the struggle against the conquerors and their minions. The attention of the rulers of Bukhara was drawn to the addresses of Mahmud. They conspired to lure Mahmud to Bukhara through deception and execute him in order to leave the movement headless. But Mahmud Tarabi sensed the intention of the enemies and stalled the danger facing him. He arrived in Bukhara not alone but in the company of a large number of his followers.

The numerous followers of Mahmud collected on one of the hills in the vicinity of Bukhara where Mahmud made an appeal to the toiling people to wage an armed struggle against the oppressors. The entire population in the neighbourhood joined the rebels.

Having gathered large forces Mahmud demanded from the clergy, sadrs, and other representatives of the ruling estates to

9. Bart'old V.V., 1963b, pp. 545-547; Yakubovskii A. Iu., 1936, pp. 101-135.

declare him as the Caliph which they were compelled to do because the people fully backed Mahmud. Declaring his residence the palace, built in 1206 A.D. by the leader of popular uprising Malik Sanjar, Mahmud started fulfilling his plans. The sadrs and other representatives of the ruling estates were driven out of the city.

Historian Juvaini, who from his class positions, negatively assesses the uprising of Mahmud Tarabi, thus describes the measures taken by Mahmud in relation to the ruling classes. "Most of the aristocrats and dignitaries were humiliated by him and the other section of these people saved themselves by fleeing."

At the same time Juvaini is compelled to recognise that "he (Mahmud Tarabi) was favourably disposed towards simple people and homeless wanderers....sent people to the houses of the wealthy to bring from there tents and carpets to set up the camps for the troops".

This shows that Mahmud was preparing for the next stage of the struggle very carefully. He knew very well that "great people" of Bukhara would not stop their resistance and would try to restore their lost power.

In Kermine, Sadrs and other representatives of the ruling elite along with the Mongol detachments also prepared for the battle.

The fierce battle of the rebels, with the Mongol troops, took place not far away from the city. The rebels were well-organised. They fought courageously and selflessly. Mahmud Tarabi was in the thick of the battle himself. The victory of the rebels was hastened by the joining of the population of the outskirt regions who were armed with spades and axes. The troops of Mongols and local feudals were defeated and they fled. The rebels pursued them upto Kermine and butchered most of the retreating warriors. As Juvaini states, in this battle about ten thousand people were killed.

However, soon after the course of the battle changed and the uprising ended in failure. Its leader and organiser Mahmud Tarabi was killed near Kermine. The other talented leader of the rebels, a friend of Mahmud, Shams ad-Din Mahbubi, was also killed. After

several days the rebels, who lost their leadership and did not have adequate weapons, were defeated.

Juveini in his chronicles tries, in all possible ways, to tarnish the image of Mahmud Tarabi. He describes him as a semi-mad fanatic and states that only "mob and vagabonds" were his followers. These words of the class enemy of the popular uprising just once again prove the really popular character of the movement of Mahmud Tarabi.

The uprising of Mahmud Tarabi was directed not only against the invaders and their oppression but also against big clergy, local traders and feudals who became the supporters of the intruders. Peasants and craftsmen followed Mahmud because he was against unrestricted tyranny of the wealthy and demanded the distribution of their property among the have-nots.

For the sake of the interests of the people Tarabi did not stop before any odds. That is why Mahmud Tarabi occupies an outstanding place in the history of the Tajik and other peoples of Central Asia.

The Internal Policy of Munke-kaan and the Merchant-ruler Masud-bek

Among the Mongol Khans and aristocracy soon after the conquest of Central Asia and Iran two tendencies towards the settled population of the conquered territory could be clearly observed. The social basis of these tendencies have been studied by A. Iu. Yakubovskii and I.P. Petrushevskii.¹⁰ The representatives of the first tendency were the large section of the military-nomadic elite (both Mongol as well as Turks), many princes and some *kaans* — the top rulers of the Mongols. They were against settled life and wanted the entire land to be converted into pastures and all the cities into ruins. They were ready to shamelessly plunder, destroy, burn and take prisoners, not bothering that by such treatment of the settled population they would be depriving themselves of large revenues from cultivation of land and crafts and trade. This group

10. Yakubovskii A.Iu., 1932, pp. 52-53; Petrushevskii I.P., 1960, p. 48 onwards.

was joined by a part of the local aristocracy and traders who counted upon rapid enrichment through direct plunder.

The representatives of the second tendency were some *kaans* and a small part of the military-nomadic Mongol elite; close to the *kaan* house, the main section of the local aristocracy, officialdom, clergy and majority of traders. These estates of dominant class were united by their aspiration for strong central power, struggle against the separatist inclinations of the representatives of the first tendency, clear understanding of the necessity to stop plunder and destruction of the settled population. The patronage of cities and trade, the exact norms of taxation and obligations, protection of the peasants and urban population from arbitrary collections, from the trampling of the harvest, from the destruction of cities — only such a policy could ensure the restoration and development of the ruined economy without which effective exploitation of the tax paying population was impossible. The representatives of the second tendency fully understood that the non-implementation of this programme would amount to cutting the branch on which one is sitting because no one-time plunder would bring so much income as would provide systematic and annual receipts of revenue from agriculture and from urban crafts and trade.

The second tendency was represented by Munke-kaan, who came to power in 1251 A.D. and merchant-ruler Masud-bek, son of the first ruler Mahmud Yalavach. Historians have inadequately studied the information from the written sources about the activities of Munke-kaan, considering his instructions as an isolated attempt to restrict the tyranny of local rulers. The comparison of the content of the orders of Munke-kaan, with numismatic data collected by E.A. Davidovich, allows one to think that we have before us not separate uncoordinated measures but goal-oriented domestic policy which, at least in Central Asia, received some practical implementation.

Under Munke-kaan, poll-tax was strictly regulated, regular minting of gold *dinars* of equal standard was decreed in many cities of Central Asia and beyond it.

In conditions of feudalism, in general and in conditions of economic dislocation, after the Mongol conquest in particular, high standard gold coins were extremely large in size and did not

correspond to the scale of internal trade and to the level of prices of main goods. In order to make the gold *dinars*, general means of circulation in the state and thus to promote the reestablishment and development of money trade, the standard for gold *dinars* was lowered (about 60 per cent of pure gold). In this way the coming closer of money and commodities was ensured.

The rest of the measures are vividly described by Rashid ad-Din: "As after death of Guyuk-Khan many princes and Khans distributed numerous 'tags and pies' to people, and sent messengers in all directions of the state, and patronised the poor and the nobles, because they had to deal with them in trade and for other reasons, Mengu-Khan ordered the above-mentioned persons to find out in his province 'tags and pies' which people received from them and from other princes in the period of Chengez Khan, Ugedei-Kaan and Guyuk-Khan and to take back everything so that in future the princes do not give and write orders about the affairs concerning provinces without consulting the Vice-regent of His Highness, so that the great emissaries do not travel more than 14 halts, so that they travel from one horse-post to another without taking away horses from the population. During the time of Ugedei-Kaan, it was customary for traders to travel in regions of Mogulistan on post-horses [Mengu-Khan]: because the traders travelled for receiving money, what is the use of letting them travel on post-horses, and ordered that they travel on their personal animals. Also he ordered that they do not go to any other city and villages where they do not have any special purpose and they do not collect taxes higher than the fixed ones."¹¹

Old burdensome and non-fixed tributes and taxes were cancelled. In particular, Munke-kaan invalidated all the tags and pies issued after the death of Chengez Khan. He also prohibited emissaries from taking horses from the people and defined the norm of the post-horses for them. Private persons were prohibited from using state horses. Munke-kaan did not allow this in cities and villages and demand maintenance over and above the permissible norm. Also it was mentioned that the arrears from the population be not collected. It is interesting to point out one detail:

11. Rashid ad-Din, 1960, II, p. 141.

under Munke-kaan the decrees were written in the language of the people for whom they were meant. For the Mongols, who were in the habit of not considering the interests of the subjugated people, it was an act of political farsightedness.

Thus the measures decreed by Munke-kaan envisaged the regulation and firm fixation of the size of the taxes, protection of the people from the arbitrary and unregulated obligations and reanimation of the city life and trade. The very fact of decreeing of such measures is the proof of big victory of the second tendency in the policy from the middle of the 13th century. One of the main inspirers and its practical implementation was undoubtedly Masud-beg who under Munke-kaan possessed a vast territory from Uiguria in the east to Khwarezm in the West. But did these decrees have any practical success?

In Iran, as it is known from the sources, the introduction of the toll-tax did not bring relief to population because of the extreme misuse of power by the officials and the Mongols. In Central Asia the regulation of taxes and cancellation of some extortions played a positive role in the rehabilitation of the economy. So far as the urban life and money trade is concerned the success was quite considerable. The gold coins enlivened the money trade. At the basis of money circulation appeared to be not the whole coins but their fragments and pieces, which were accepted by weight. In combination with their low standard, it testifies eloquently to the fact that the gold coins served quite a wide sphere of money trade on equal basis across the entire state. Besides these common state coins, several cities renewed the minting of the silver-coated copper *dirhams*. In this connection it is important to point out to the intensive work of the mints of such cities as Atrar and Khojent, which indicate the revival of life in the cities (as is known, Atrar was completely destroyed during the conquest!) as also in Fargana and the entire north-eastern part of the state, as a whole. These regions were steadfastly on the upswing. Later in the last quarter of the 13th century they attained considerable prosperity although Semirechiye by the middle of the 13th century was turned mostly into pastures and many cities there were in ruins.

Monetary Reform of Masud-bek; Partial Rehabilitation of Urban Life and Trade

In the beginning of the 70s of the 13th century Masud-beg conducted a radical monetary reform¹². It signifies a more serious and consistent victory of the second tendency. Reform was introduced in 1271 A.D. but the period of its full implementation and success was the last two decades of the 13th century.

The main context of this reform was transition to the regular minting of the real silver coins in many cities and regions of Central Asia — everywhere of equal weight and purity. Such coins had a state-wide general circulation irrespective of the place of issue. It was a real revolution in money trading. Silver coins corresponded to the level of prices and the scale of internal trade of feudal Central Asia. But for more than two and a half centuries in Central Asia there was no regular minting of silver coins and Mongol destruction delayed for long the overcoming of this silver coins crisis.

Several attempts were made to go back to the circulation of silver coins but they did not succeed. But the reform of Masud-beg was fully successful which clearly proves its preparedness and timeliness.

The minting of silver coins was free, that is, any person could bring his silver to the minting house to be converted into coins on payment for this work. The success of the reform fully depended on whether free minting could be organised, whether those who possessed silver would decide to “appear”, whether they would take their silver to the mint. There were many reasons for distrust. Guarantees against arbitrariness, plunder and coercion from the side of the Mongols were needed; it was necessary to be assured that the government was not upto some machination for its gain. The method of implementation of reform shows that this distrust was not overcome suddenly and not equally everywhere.

Although Masud-beg made special efforts for an all round minting of coins, he could not succeed rightaway.

In the 70s of the 13th century there worked only a few mints, their produce was not much. Only in the 80s and 90s of the 13th

12. On this reform for details see: Davidovich E.A., 1970a.

century the silver coin mints became large in number and mints were opened in 16 cities and regions. Thus, finally it was possible to overcome distrust. This was an indirect indication of existence of the necessary guarantees against arbitrariness and plunder and for quite normal conditions for the development of urban life and trade.

In 1269 A.D., that is, not long before this reform, on the banks of the Talas river a *kurultai* (assembly) was held in which the Mongol princes undertook an obligation to live in mountains and steppes and not to trample upon fields or interfere in the affairs of the settled population and to be content with fixed taxes. Obviously, these obligations were to some extent fulfilled otherwise the reform of Masud-beg would not have been such a success. The decisions of the *Kurultai* of 1269 A.D. and the very fact of conducting of the reforms are links of a single chain: the *kurultai* gave the guarantee without which there was no sense in conducting these reforms.

Of course, the struggle between the two tendencies still continued and the victory of the second tendency was never final. An example of this is the fate of Bukhara, which after the *kurultai* of 1269 A.D. and during the conduct of monetary reform, was destroyed to such an extent by Hulaguid and some Chagataid princes in 1273 and 1276 A.D. that it remained depopulated for seven years. In the oases of Bukhara still in the first quarter of the 14th century there were many ruins, deserted gardens and vineyards.¹³ Here it is necessary to underline that Masud-beg took effective measures for populating and restoring Bukhara with the result that from 1282-83 A.D. even in Bukhara a regular minting of silver coins started which showed a real reanimation of the city life and monetary trade. Another fact is also interesting: Tuva Khan (1282-1306 A.D.) constructed the city of Andijan in Fargana which started developing rapidly.

Thus the monetary trade, judged by the numismatic data, by the end of 13th century had attained a considerable success in comparison with the previous period which indicates a partial restoration and development of commodity production and urban

13. Petrushevskii I.P., 1949; Chekhovich O.D., 1965a, p. 14.

life on the whole. The cities and trade of the north-eastern regions of Central Asia, including the area of Semirechiye (particularly productive was the mint of Taras, Kenjab, Atrar and others), cities of Fargana and the region of Chach were perhaps in excellent conditions. The restoration of the cities of Maverannahr was going on at a slower pace but here also the last two decades of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century were marked by considerable success.

Less known is the condition of agriculture of Central Asia in the beginning of the 14th century. Significant is the testimony of a *wakf* grant of 1299 A.D. wherein the founder of the *wakf* bought not far away from Bukhara (about 30 kilometres towards north) a whole village with richly irrigated land and set up one more settlement, two mosques, good dwelling for the workers, flour mill and several (not less than three) weaving workshops.¹⁴ The purchase of land and all these constructions in the district of Bukhara would have hardly taken place if it had not been preceded by quite a long period of peaceful life generating confidence in the security of investment in land and other constructions on it. As the guarantees, given in the *Kurultai* of 1269 A.D. and later towards the end of the 13th century, as already mentioned, appeared to be quite effective in creating favourable conditions not only for urban but rural life as well.

Of course, at the beginning of the 14th century (and in the 14th century) the aftermath of the Mongol destruction had not been overcome, the economy on the whole was far from the pre-Mongol level, the forms of exploitation and harsh tax burdens prevented the restoration of the economy and slowed down this process. The Mongol yoke, for the people of Central Asia, was an incomparable disaster. These materials only state the stages of reconstruction and the relative improvement of the urban life and trade and they refute the point of view of several historians which had become for them an axiom as if in Central Asia for the development of cities and internal trade real possibilities were created only after the reforms of Kebek (1318-1326 A.D.) that it was only Kebek who stopped anarchy in the monetary circulation.

14. Petrushevskii I.P., 1949; Chekhovich O.D., 1965a, p. 14.

Central Asia in the First Half of the 14th Century

Kebek was the first Mongol ruler who finally shifted his headquarters to Maverannahr. Kebek remained a pagan, never accepting the religion of Islam, though he readily had discussions on religious themes with the Muslim clergy. There are facts showing that he tried, sometimes not without success, to stop the extreme manifestations of persecution by nomadic feudals of settled people. He constructed a palace for himself ("Karshi") not far away from Neseft. Afterwards, around this palace arose a whole city which was named Karshi. Monetary and administrative reforms are associated with Kebek. The monetary reform of Kebek has been studied in detail by M.E. Masson.¹⁵ It was initiated in 1321 A.D. keeping in mind the monetary systems in the state of Hulaguids and the Golden Horde. The large silver coin weighing more than eight grams was called a silver *dinar* and it was equal to six small coins, called *dirhams*. In the first years the minting of these new coins (particularly *dirhams* with the name of Kebek) was extremely intensive. Their main production was in Bukhara and Samarkand. The minting of silver coins, of these two denominations, was continued by other rulers also. Tarmashirin, for example, also issued many silver coins. During his rule the mint in Atrar worked intensively. Later the minting of coins decreased in quantity.

The significance of the reform of Kebek was overestimated by most of the historians. It did not bring about such radical changes in monetary economy as the preceding reform of Masud. But it created even more favourable conditions both for internal as well as external trade. The very fact of its introduction and the whole post-reform mints prove that the uplift of the cities and of monetary trade continued although all regions of Central Asia were not on an equal level in this regard as before.

In the 14th century the struggle between the two tendencies, mentioned above, towards the settled population, became extremely aggravated. Thus Kebek had to conduct a hard struggle against the rebellious Chagatide prince, Yasavur. This prince, with the help of troops of Khorasan Amir defeated Kebek. After this, as the source informs, Yasavur "from Termez to the border of

15. Masson M.E., 1957.

Samarkand all the inhabitants of the *vilayets* and settlements from the river Amul (Amu Daria) shifted and the cities and localities, which were under the power of Kebek destroyed and the people of those places imprisoned." Just only the Khorasan Amirs took as prisoners more than 50 thousand people and captured a large booty. When Kebek wanted to inflict a counter blow on Khorasan possessions of Yasavur, the latter ordered the inhabitants of Farab and Murgab to shift to the Herat region. During this shifting tens of thousands of people perished from cold and hunger. Feudal internecine conflicts of 1316-1319 A.D., linked with the rebellion of Yasavur, inflicted a great loss on the people of Central Asia.

The successor of Kebek, his brother Tarmashirin (1326-1334 A.D.) continued the policy of his predecessor. He tilted even more towards the traditions of settled life, became an ardent Muslim and made Islam an official religion of the Chagataid state. As a result of discontent of the nomadic feudals an uprising took place and Tarmashirin was killed.¹⁶ Internecine conflicts inflicted a final and irreparable blow to the urban life and agriculture of Semirechiye.

It is vividly narrated in one of the sources, on the basis of an eye-witness traveller: "You could see from distance well-built settlements, the outskirts of which are covered with blooming greenery. But when you come near to it in the hope to meet somebody, you find the houses fully deserted. All the inhabitants of the country are nomads and do not engage in agriculture work."¹⁷

Administrative reform should have exerted a certain influence on the life of the country which divided Central Asia into small administrative units — *tumans*. So far as the timing of the reform is concerned there is no unanimity of view on it. The "authorship" of Kebek Khan is not indisputable. V.V. Bart'old assumes that this reform was implemented between 1318 and 1334 A.D. (that is Kebek or Tarmashirin).¹⁸ A. Iu. Yakubovskii expressed his opinion in favour of Kebek as its author. A. Iu. Yakubovskii based himself on the fact that by the

16. Bart'old V.V., 1963a, pp. 74-76; Stroeva L.V., 1958, pp. 210-216.

17. Bart'old V.V., 1963e, p. 264.

18. Bart'old V.V., 1963zh, p. 153; 1964g, p. 33.

time of Timur *tumans* still existed and before Kebek they were not there and after Kebek nobody could have undertaken these reforms.¹⁹ O.D. Chekhovich, who found the term "*tuman*" in the *wakfnama* of 1299 A.D. (it is true that this word was preserved not in original Arabic but in Persian translation of this grant), assumed that the division into "*tumans*" possibly existed long before Kebek.²⁰

Researchers see in this reform an expression of a centralised tendency. A.Iu. Yakubovskii underlined that "...it should be recognised as a highly progressive step which played a positive role in the development of feudal statehood in Maverannahr." At the same time he thought that "the administrative reform of Kebek did not liquidate feudal kingdoms with their rulers but adjusted to them; the lands were converted into administrative units — *tumans*, and former landowners into vice-regents of *tumans*." However, the *wakf* grant of 1326 A.D. allows to assume that this reform made deeper transformations in administrative-political rule. Among the conditions of *wakf* givers it is stated that the *wakf* lands cannot be farmed out or given in rent "to the rulers of Bukhara city and other *vilayets* from among the Amirs, *tumans*, maliks, baskaks and diwan vazirs"²¹, that is, the hereditary rulers of pre-Mongol origin are named here without any link with "*tumans*". At the head of the "*tuman*" are amirs, that is, the heads and elite of Turko-Mongol tribes. Hence in this case the "*tumans*" and the possessions of the maliks are not alike. Perhaps this administrative reform brought about a more serious breach of the old than it was envisaged before. It is not excluded that one of the tasks was just the liquidation of the autonomy of the local landowners and rulers. Hence more correct is the assumption of V.V. Bart'old that division into "*tumans*" most probably was linked as in Persia with the allocation of the principalities to the representatives of clans who came into Maverannahr along with Khans"²². Arlats inhabited the northern parts of Afghanistan,

19. *Istoria Navodov Uzbekistana*, I, pp. 338-340.

20. Chekhovich O.D., 1967, p. 67.

21. *Ibid.*, 1965a, pp. 107-108, 183 Onwards.

22. Bart'old V.V., 1964, p. 34.

Kauchins — in southern Tajikistan, Jalairs — near Khojent, Barlas — in the valley of Kashka Daria etc. The fact that the Turko-Mongol elite occupied posts in administration of the country not only on the territory of their own principality, is a significant factor for characteristics as of the administrative reform itself as well as of the process of adjusting of nomadic elite to the settled culture with all its institutions. But on the whole the question of significance and the aim of this reform needs further elaboration. It is not clear yet what these "*tumans*" represented (what was the criteria for determining a territory as "*tuman*").

The feudal infighting impeded the adoption of the progressive measures and brought their results to naught. In the 40s of the 14th century Khan Kazan, continuing the political line of Kebek-Tarmashirin tried to restore the power of the Khan. In the two passages towards the west from the contemporary city of Karshi he constructed the castle-palace of Zenjir-sarai; his stronghold in struggle against nomadic feudals. In 1346 he died in battle. He was succeeded by Amir Kazagan. He was an adherent of the traditions of nomadic life. In winters he spent his time in Sarai valley (present-day Pynj district of Tajikistan), in summers near the city of Munk, most of the time he was busy hunting and plundering which was to the taste of the nomadic elite who seized a lot of booty. His son Abdallah (since 1358 A.D.) tried to pursue a different policy reflecting the interests of the settled top brass but he was exiled.

At the end of the 50s of the 14th century the Chagatide state was split approximately into 15 principalities. Some of them belonged to the nomadic feudals. For example, Khojent was under Bayazid Jelair, at the head of others were local feudals, both temporal and ecclesiastical (in Bukhara — *sadrs*, in Khuttalian — offsprings of the old Tajik family Kaikhusrau, two brothers — kings from a local dynasty in Badakhshan, *Seids* — in Termez and others). The Chagatide state split besides these into two parts — north-eastern regions got separated, receiving the name Mogolistan.²³

23. Bart'old V.V., 1963a, pp. 73-80; Stroeve L.V., 1958, pp. 216-219.

2. Socio-Economic Relations in Central Asia Under the Mongols

The Categories of Landownership — Suirgal

The socio-economic relations under the Mongols, the influence of Mongol conquest and domination on different socio-economic institutions have been thoroughly studied for the state of the Hulaguids.²⁴ It is not possible to mechanically apply the observations and conclusions of the historians of Iran on Central Asia. However, these materials help to understand and interpret some indirect data about several socio-economic institutions of Central Asia of that period.

It is necessary to note that historians have done precious little on this aspect for the concrete historical research of Central Asia. One of the reasons for this is the limitation of the source material. Particular attention must be paid to the search and study of the local sources. To what extent it is useful is shown by the study of *wakf* grants of 1299 A.D. and 1326-1333 A.D. and the observations made by O.D. Chekhovich about the meaning of some terms.²⁵

From these documents it is obvious that the Mongols not only did not liquidate the *wakf* agriculture in Central Asia but the relative weight of this category of land was perhaps not reduced but was increased. The Mongol Khans, with some exceptions, were tolerant in matters of religion. They often exempted the clergy (including Muslim) from taxes. Even during conquest and general plunder of cities they often spared the property of the clergy. Of course, the *wakf* lands also got devastated along with other lands during the conquest and internecine conflicts and plundering raids of the Mongols. But the category of these lands continued to exist. If to keep in mind the fact that the Mongols, before Kebek Khan, did not interfere with the rule of Central Asia and did not desire to acquire land, it can be concluded that the fund

24. See Ali-zade A.A., 1956; Bart'old V.V., 1966g; Belenitskii A.M., 1948; Petrushevsky I.P., 1968; Petrushevsky I.P., 1948, 1951, 1960 (bibliography given there).

25. Chekhovich O.D., 1959; 1965a, 1967.

of *wakf* lands did not decrease after the Mongol conquest. With the normalization of economic life this fund did not increase, the vivid proof of which is the *wakf* grants mentioned above. In 1299 A.D. Abd-ar Rahim Mohammad, an aristocrat native of Isfijab bought a settlement with irrigated lands, made considerable constructions over them and converted all this into *wakf*, making himself and his heirs its managers. In 1326 A.D., the grandson of Seif-ad Din Baharzi gifted to the mausoleum and *khanaka* of his grandfather the entire district to the south-west of Bukhara. Even before this the Mongol lady Khan Siyurkukteni gifted a large sum for the construction of a *madrasa* in Bukhara (*Madrasa Khaniye*) and provided it with *wakf*. The trader-ruler Masud-beg also constructed *madrasa* (*Madrasa Masudiye*) in Bukhara in which he was later buried. The *wakf* properties of these *Madrasas* must have been very large because the number of students in each of them allegedly ran upto a thousand.

From the other side there were some attempts to appropriate the *wakf* lands. One of the conditions in the *wakf* grant of 1326 A.D., that the *wakf* property should not be farmed out or given on rent to the authorities, cannot be considered as just a formality.

Apart from the *wakf* lands, in the same grant while describing the plots which were not part of the *wakf*, are mentioned three other categories of land: *milk* (*milk-i-khas*) *mamlakai inju* and *mamlakai diwan*. The relative share of each category in Central Asia under the Mongols is not known. The *milk* lands in the legal terminology of the Muslim jurists included both — peasants' *milks* and feudal *milks*. The Mongol conquest and domination did not destroy the two forms of *milks* because we come across them in the post-Mongol period. The *inju* lands in the state of the Hulaguids were the lands belonging directly to the head of the state, to members of their family and their direct vassals. These lands could be granted for service, given to *wakf*, gifted, sold, etc. One cannot but agree with I.P. Petrushevsky who compared the *inju* lands with the *milk* lands considering them of the same category: first are in the hands of the king, his family and vassals, and the second, in the hands of a private person.²⁶ It is true that the

26. Petrushevsky I.P., 1960, pp. 224-245.

inju lands were exempted from taxes but sometimes this was also the case with *milk* lands. The *inju* lands fund in Iran, which was formed from the confiscated region, during the conquest and later lands of Iranian feudals and at the expense of commendation (giving away to private persons one's own land "under patronage" to any member of the dynasty) was very large. Obviously the *inju* lands in Central Asia were not different from the Iranian. But it is not excluded that the relative weight and the means of formation were different. It is necessary to keep in mind that only Kebek Khan and the rulers who succeeded him (but not all of them) firmly shifted to Maverannahr. By this time the attitude to the settled population and local rules and laws was not the same as during the time of conquest and in the first decades after it. Hence it can be assumed that in Central Asia confiscation was not the main means for formation of and addition to the *inju* lands fund. In general, this fund did not occupy such a big place here. During a detailed study of this question when sources permit it, it should not be ignored that the purchase of *milk* lands was the most likely way for addition to the fund of *inju* lands. For Central Asia of much later period, examples are known when the kings purchased *milk* lands registering it in the usual way in the offices of the *qazis*.

The *diwan* lands are the state lands. Thus, under the Mongols in Central Asia there were four categories of lands according to the right to property. 1) The state lands 2) feudal *milki* and *inju* 3) *wakf* lands and 4) peasants' *milki*.

There is no basis to doubt that in Central Asia, during the Mongol rule as well as in Iran, there existed and developed the institution of feudal grant. In Iran during this period the grants were called by the old term *ikta* (Arabic) or by the new one *uyurgal* (Mongol language). Both *ikta* and *uyurgal* could be small as well as very large. In the beginning *ikta* was given predominantly to the higher military ranks, common rank and file received maintenance in cash and kind. Under Gazan Khan entire districts were given away as *ikta* to all Mongol warriors not in small parts but in a large allotment to a whole military unit. The amir of one thousand divided such an allotment among the amirs of one hundred and the latter in turn among amirs of ten. These *iktas* not only meant the right to rent, land, water and people, they

were hereditary and included full tax immunity. *Suyurgal* is vividly manifested and complete form of exploitation by the feudal conquerors (Turk or Mongols) of the settled cultivators of land which meant hereditary character and full tax, administrative-legal immunity. In large *suyurgals* the possessions of both the agricultural oases as well as nomadic steppe were joined.

The question of feudal grants in Central Asia, on the basis of concrete historical material, has not yet been worked out. It is clear that only the district of Khojent for Jalairs, district of Kashka Daria for Barlas, district of southern Tajikistan for Kauchins, etc. were grant territories or their *ikta* or *suyurgal*.²⁷

The Category of Peasants

The Question of Serfdom and Slavery

The peasantry under the Mongols was not uniform as it was before and after them. There existed a privileged group of peasants (perhaps reduced in number as a result of bankruptcy and annihilation of a large part of population) who were the owners of peasant *milks*, that is, they paid a tax-rent to the state in a reduced form in comparison to others. The bulk of the peasants were tenants or lease-holders — *muzari*. This term is mentioned many times in the *wakf* grants of 1326 A.D. According to the data of this grant, the lease-holders of the *wakf* arable land gave one-third of their harvest. But it was specially stipulated that these *wakf* lands were rented for not more than two years. The indirect data of the later period makes us assume that the Mongol conquest did not liquidate the communal remnants — the category of peasants living in one village hereditarily and having the right of “permanent lease” and some common rights and obligations binding them. In the 15th-16th centuries such surviving “peasant communes” were there on different categories of lands: on state, *milk* and *wakf* lands. It is

27. In this connection amirs *tumans* who were mentioned in the *wakf* grant of 1326 A.D. cannot but be remembered once again. Were these *tumans* only administrative units and amirs their rulers? or else as it was in some regions of the state of the Hulaguids, the amirs of *tumans* were the owners of large grants (*ikta* or *suyurgals*)?

not known as to what was the situation in the 13th-14th centuries.

In *wakf* grants of 1326 A.D. one more category of peasants — *kadivers* is mentioned. They are linked with cultivation on *milk* gardens. But it is not clear from the documents as to what way their condition was different from that of the tenants or the lease-holders and what they had to do with the landowners. By this way the *milk* gardens were not only cultivated by the *kadivers*, but also by the *bagbans*. It is necessary to note that according to the grant of 1326 A.D. the *wakf* lands were cultivated by slaves also who though were freed by *wakf* givers but were attached to the land. They did not have the right to leave the *wakf* land but in all other matters they were not different from the lease-holders as they also worked on condition of giving the one-third part of the harvest in kind.

The attachment to land of the freed slave does not provide the basis to speak about serfdom in Central Asia. In Iran, under the Mongols, peasants were attached to some land and forbidden to leave it. But they returned to their previous place from the middle of 13th century. The label of Gazankhan of 1303 A.D. only confirms this situation. It is important to note that it concerned those peasants who were located not only on the *ikta* land but also on *milk* land. I.P. Petrushevsky thinks that this rule applied to all peasants located on any type of land. The pre-conditions were as follows: if earlier the irrigated land was insufficient for dense population, after the Mongol destruction the size of population and the area of cultivated land sharply decreased and the harsh exploitation, particularly by the military nomadic aristocracy resulted in mass exodus of peasants. The enslaving into serfdom, policy of the Mongol Khans, was dictated by the attempt of the state and the feudals to preserve the peasants as tax-payers. This policy was encouraged also by the fact that it was in line with the rules of Chengiz Yasa, according to which the nomads were attached to their leaders and were forbidden to leave at will.²⁸

In Central Asia there existed analogical pre-conditions such as decreased population and cultivated land, the destruction of the

28. Petrushevsky I.P., 1960, pp. 327-337.

economy of the peasants and increased exploitation. In those districts of Central Asia (southern Turkmenia) which were parts of the state of the Hulaguids the attachment of peasants to land was there as in other parts of this state. But we do not have direct information about serfdom in the state of the Chagataids on the territory of Maverannahr and on the territory to the east.

Hence, it is premature to resolve this question. It is necessary to keep in mind some peculiarities of the organization of the administration in Maverannahr in comparison to Iran. As already mentioned, the Mongols themselves did not interfere in the administration of the country and also did not have their allotment and *ikta* in the 13th century: the revenues were collected by trader-rulers (Mahmud Yalavach, Masud-bek and the latter's sons) and these revenues were considered common for those Mongols to whom this part of Central Asia belonged. That is why before the Mongol princes and aristocracy at this time there was no concrete question of how and from whom to collect the land rent, whether the peasants were at their place or they had fled. Of course, in the 14th century the situation changed. But here also one cannot ignore the provision in the *wakf* grant of 1326 A.D., that the sharecroppers were not to be given land on rent for more than two years even when they brought it under irrigation and improved it. Here Bukhara oasis was mentioned which in 1273 and 1276 A.D. was destroyed to such an extent that even in 1326 A.D. one could see the ruins of castles and villages, uprooted and deserted gardens, etc.

The Condition of Craftsmen

The policy of the Mongols directed towards enslaving the population is clearly expressed in their attitude to craftsmen. In this respect the testimony of one of the sources is interesting. Around 1262 A.D. the envoy of Kublai-khan made a new calculation in Bukhara: among 16 thousand of Bukharans, 5 thousand belonged to Batu, (that is, Juchids); 3 thousand belonged to Siyurkukteni-beki (the mother of Hulagu-Khan, Munke-kaan and Kubilai-khan), the rest belonged to the person who was the head of the Mongols, Khan, in order that he could possess them as his property. In 1263 A.D. Hulagu-Khan who fought with Juchids,

ordered to take out of Bukhara and kill 5 thousand people belonging to Juchids; not sparing their property, wives and children. Researchers justly think that the reference is to the craftsmen registered with the Mongol Khans, who personally depended on and worked for them.²⁹

Plano-Karpini mentions two groups of craftsmen: "In the land of Saratsions and others in which they are the masters, they (Mongols) take away all the best craftsmen and assign them different jobs. Other craftsmen pay them tribute from their business...they give every body very little bread per day but they give nothing else except a small portion of meat thrice a week. And they give this only to those craftsmen who live in cities.³⁰ Here there is one group of craftsmen reduced to the level of slaves from whom all the products of their labour are taken away and they are given only some daily food; and a second group of urban craftsmen (it is not clear whether they are free or enslaved), who work independently and pay tax for their craft. Probably Rashid ad-Din also mentions the same group while enumerating the measures of Munke-kaan directly linked to Central Asia: "...[Mengu-kaan] ordered that simple people from among the traders, craftsmen and owners of industries should be lenient towards their apprentices and share with them a part of their welfare so that everyone paid tribute on the deal proportionate to the amount and well-being."³¹

The condition of craftsmen of Central Asia was not the same and changed constantly during the two centuries. From the written sources it is clear that many craftsmen were reduced to the level of slaves. During the conquest of Central Asia the Mongols took away craftsmen to Mongolia. Later in the cities of Iran *karkhane* — workshops — were set up which belonged to the Mongol top brass where the craftsmen worked as slaves. At the same time there were also serf-craftsmen like those mentioned above in Bukhara who worked independently but were registered with the Mongol Khans and paid them tax from crafts and trade. There was

29. Petrushevsky I.P., 1949, pp. 103, 114-115.

30. Plano-Karpini, 1911, p. 36.

31. Rashid ad-Din, II, 1960, p. 141.

obviously a growing group of more free craftsmen and traders who paid taxes (*tamga*) to the treasury of the central power. These taxes could be collected only by the officials of the Diwan or the tax farmers.

There is no basis to assume that the Mongols who took prisoners a large number of craftsmen and others who were enslaved and made serfs, destroyed completely by this the guild organisation of the crafts. It was to revive again along with the revival of cities and commodity production. One of the negative phenomena of Mongol domination was an increase in the slave-owning sector. The Mongols enslaved the population of the conquered territories in a large number and not only craftsmen. The slaves were widely used in the economy including agriculture. In the markets the slaves of different nationalities were sold. As the labour of the slave who was not interested in production was not profitable, as the *wakf* grant of 1326 A.D. shows, the emancipation of the slaves was practiced by turning them into serfs.

The main conflict was not between the feudal elite and nomadic aristocracy but between feudal top brass (including higher clergy, traders and money lenders), from one side, and peasantry and the urban lower strata from the other. The burdensome influence of the Muslim clergy on the ignorant and oppressed masses and particularly the stupefying role of Sufism and *dervishism* and its numerous sheikhs held back by every means (although could not prevent completely) the development of the direct forms of struggle of the downtrodden Tajik masses against their local oppressors.

3. The Culture of the Peoples of Central Asia during the Mongol Period

Architecture, Applied Crafts and Art

The intensive construction activity which started in the middle of the 13th century and especially in the 14th century is indicative of normalisation followed by the growth of urban life and economy as a whole. The cost of constructions was met by the clergy and

the secular feudals and even by the individual representatives of the Mongol elite. But the builders were the local masters, that is why the architecture of this period is only the logical development of local traditions, manifestation, materialization of the achievements of the Central Asian architects and different masters of applied arts.³²

From this period are preserved quite a large number of monuments, but all these are mausoleums. There is no need to think that the constructions of the 13th-14th centuries were limited to only one of these forms of monumental buildings. From the written sources it is known, that *madrassas* and palaces were also built. Two big *madrassas* were built in Bukhara in the middle of the 13th century; the palace (Karshi) as mentioned was built by the Mongolian ruler Kebek-Khan. In Kunya-Urgench (Khwarezm), a magnificent minaret is preserved (its height about 62 metres), a second similar one collapsed in the beginning of the 20th century — both of them are the component part of the *madrassa*.

The earliest among the preserved buildings of this period is the mausoleum of Seif-ud-Din Bakharzi, an influential and popular Sheikh whom even the Mongols had to reckon with. He died in 1258 A.D. The descendants constructed, over his grave, a beautiful mausoleum along with a sufi *khanaka* by its side. In 1333 it was visited by Ibn Batuta who called it a "big building". The mausoleum of Sheikh near Bukhara does not have a *khanaka*. In the 14th century it underwent big changes. The oldest part of it is the mausoleum itself. Adjacent to it the *Ziarat-khana* (quite a large building for praying at the grave of the sheikh and for performing rites) was built later. The latest part of it is a portal. The monument is simple and huge. The expression of endurance and massiveness enhances its form: a small dome of the mausoleum itself, the big dome of the *ziarat-khana* and the high massive portal decorated by towers on the sides.

There are many pre-Timur mausoleums: several of them are in the Samarkand complex of Shah-i-zinda (*ziarat-khana* in front

32. About architecture see: Bachinskii N.M., 1939; Belenitskii A.M., 1950; Bretanitskii L.S., 1958; Pugachenkova G.A., Rempel L.I., 1965; 1961; Shishkin V.A., 1966 and others.

of the mausoleum of Kussama-ibn Abbas, mausoleum of 1360 A.D., mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed etc.), the Bukharan mausoleum of Buyan Kuli-Khan, Kunyar-Urgench mausoleums of Nazm-ad Din and Tiurabek-Khanim, mausoleum of Mohd Bashar in central Tajikistan, presently ruined mausoleum of Tuba-khan in Leninabad and others. From the viewpoint of architectural planning the majority of mausoleums are divided into two groups: more numerous are the domed mausoleums from one building, the other group consists of mausoleums of the type of Seif-ad Din Bakharzi, *i.e.*, consisting of two-domed buildings (tomb and *ziarat-khana*). At present several constructive ideas are being worked out, especially the turn towards the domed mausoleums, double and even triple domed systems are being used.

The architectural decoration of this time is rich and variegated and testifies to the further development of the applied crafts. The carved terracota with the use of glaze was widely in practice. The carved relief designs of the tiles were sometimes entirely covered by blue or navy blue glaze, in other cases the glaze was used only on the main big picture or inscription, and the ornamental inside decoration kept the texture of the terracota tile.

The single and multi-coloured *maiolika*, sometimes with the under-glazed or over-glazed picture made in gold or colours, was widespread. The simple but exquisite decoration of the walls by frames, at equal distances of vertical glazed bricks, was used. Inside the plastered surface of the walls was sometimes covered by splendid wall paintings. The old style of ornamentation was also not abandoned completely. For example, typical for the 11th-12th centuries — the carved terracota (without glaze) can be seen also in the 14th century. The multiplicity and richness of the complex floral and geometrical pictures *maiolika*, wall-paintings etc., is worth mentioning. The inventiveness of the painters who made these samples for the master-ceramists or the wall-painters is simply amazing.

Special mention may be made of the inscriptions on the large monuments of architecture which were executed in different styles. They testify to the fact that the art of calligraphy was preserved at the old level. It is also important to note that calligraphy and the art



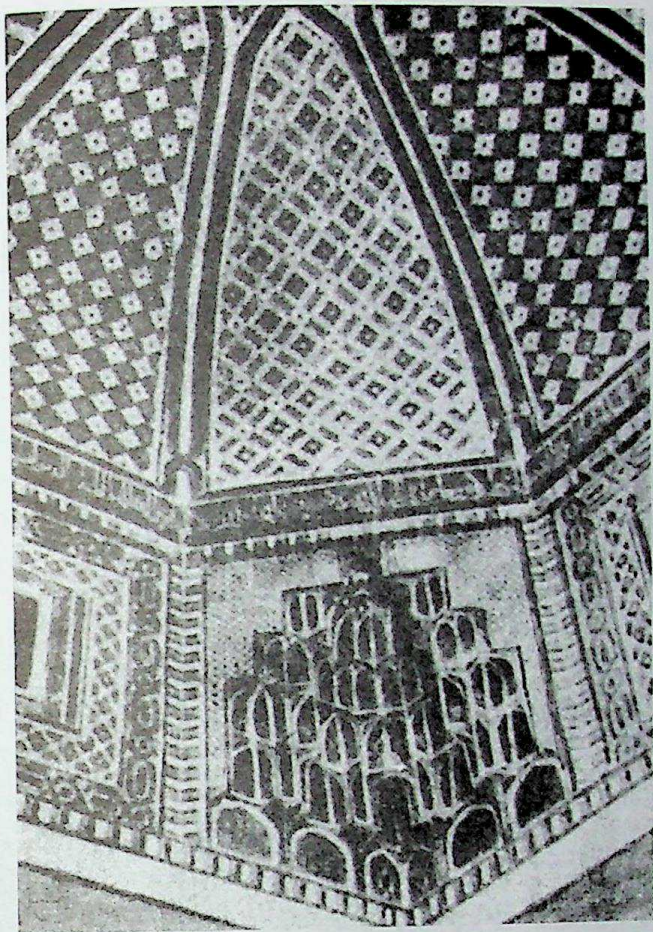
**Mausoleum of Seif ad-Din Bakharzi of the
14th Century in Bukhara**

of ornamentation have left behind their beautiful samples not only in architecture. In this regard, highly interesting are two grey narrow-necked jugs, the pear-like torso of which is decorated by lines of beautifully stamped ornaments including the line of inscription containing the name and date: "The work of master Abd-ar-Rahman; 721 year" (*i.e.*, 1321 A.D.). The line of the inscription which is exquisitely executed is the same on both the jugs. The remaining ornamental lines are different.

Some samples of glazed ceramics, found in Khwarezm and southern Turkmenia³³, are also of great artistic value. Buddhist place for keeping the idols in Merv in its time was painted, the rich fragments of this painting with depiction of a rabbit, dragon, etc. are preserved.³⁴

33. Vakturskaya N.N., 1959; Masson M.E., 1949; Litvinskii B.A., 1953b; Atagariev E.A., 1967.

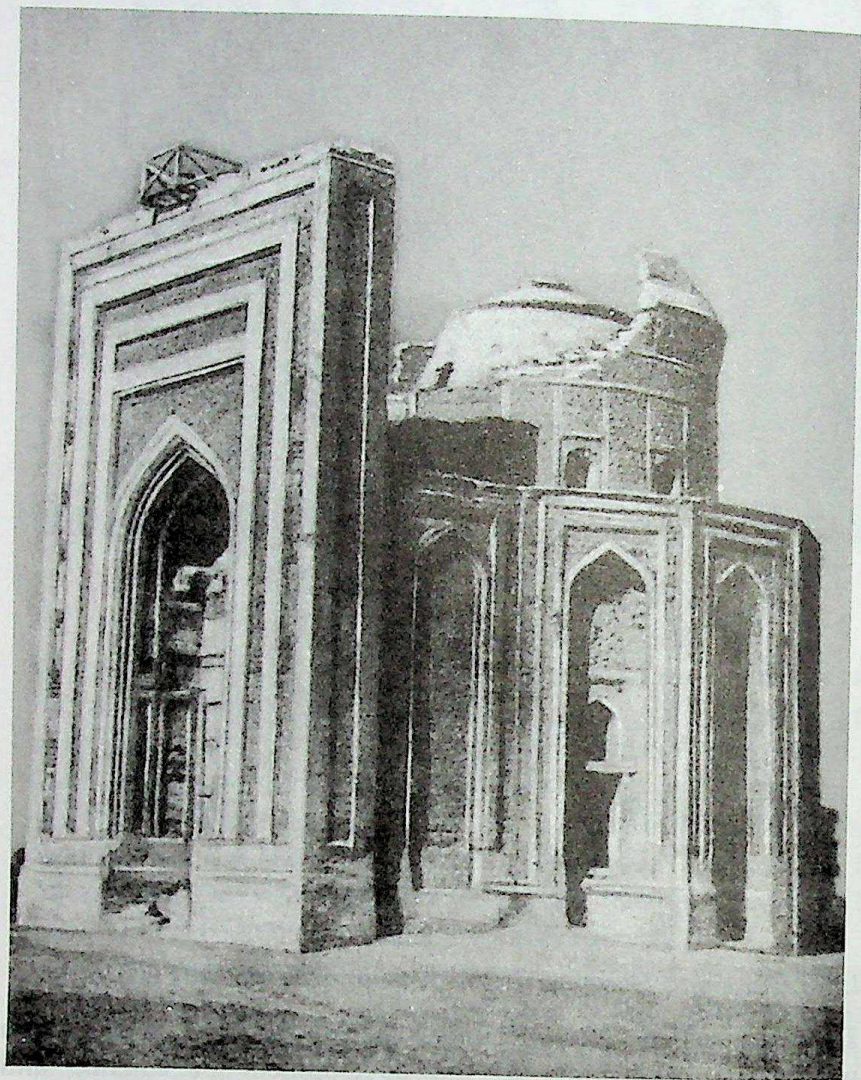
34. Pugachenkova G.A., 1954.



**The Interior of Ziarat-khana (1334 A.D.)
Ensemble at Shah-e-Zinda, Samarkand**

Literature and Science in the 13th-middle of 14th Century

The conquest of Central Asia by the hordes of Chengiz Khan inflicted a hard blow to the development of science and literature. In the 13th and the beginning of 14th century the literature, developed namely in those places which were not under the Mongol rule, — in Asia Minor, in south of Iran and in India. Only by the end of the 14th-beginning of the 15th century the literary centres began to concentrate in Maverannahr and Khorasan again.



Mausoleum of Tiurabek-Khanym 60s-70s of the 14th Century

The more important representatives of Tajik-Persian poetry of the 13th century are Jalal ud-Din Rumi, Saadi, Amir Khusrau Dehelvi.

Jalal ad-Din Rumi (1207-1272 A.D.) hailed from the old centre of culture of the Tajik people — the city of Balkh. Before the invasion of the Mongols, he at the age of fourteen, along with his father, left his motherland, and having visited Nisapur, Hejaz, Syria and Asia Minor settled in Konia (Asia Minor). After receiving higher education, according to that time, he at the guidance of his father in Konia itself and then in Aleppo and Damascus started doing a teaching job. In 1244 A.D., under the influence of a *dervish*, he handed over his teaching job and his leadership of the sufi brotherhood to his disciples and chose to lead a secluded life himself.

Jalal ad-Din Rumi is one of the most important Sufi poets. The best known of his works are 'Diwan', the collection of poems and a poem "Masnavi Manavi" ("Didactic couplets"), consisting of 36 thousand couplets in which the basics of Sufi philosophy are expounded. In this poem Rumi develops the genre of Sufi philosophic *Masnavi* (the poems with twin rhyme).

The style of Rumi's work is very simple, with the use of forms of Tajik folk poetry; lyric songs in *ghazals* and parables in *masnavi*.³⁵

Muslih ad-Din Saadi Shirazi (born about 1219 A.D., died in 1292 A.D.) began his education in Shiraz, later moved to Baghdad where he completed his education.

From one side his passion for travel and from the other — situation in the motherland of Saddi during the Mongol invasion — compelled the poet to wander through different countries of the East over a long period of time. During his numerous travels which lasted 30-40 years, Saadi visited Hejaz, Baghdad and northern Africa.

In 1256 A.D. he returned to Shiraz and got engaged in refinement of his works. The poet from Shiraz, who wrote his works outside Central Asia, Saddi organically entered in the history books of not only of Persian but also Tajik poetry. His

35. Odilov N., 1964.

creativity was formed under influence of early medieval Tajik poetry and is inseparably linked with it.

Besides the widely-known works of *Gulistan*³⁶ and *Bostan*, Saddi³⁷ wrote a lot of poems, especially several series of *ghazals*.

Saadi was also a great master in the field of prose. He also perfected the didactic genre. In his didactic works, the poet eloquently expressed his humanistic views and preached love for the motherland.

Saadi condemned tyranny and arbitrariness of the powerful in the world. He appealed to the rulers to respect and value the simple people. He urged them to be content, with the little and reproached money-grabbing and lust for luxury. At the same time the creative work of Saadi bore the stamp of historical and class narrow-mindedness. Thus he writes about the need to submit to the mighty while preaching his version of non-resistance to evil.

Here are some examples of aphorism from *Gulistan*:

"When the enemy exhausts all his tricks, he starts weaving the chain of friendship. Thus he is willing to become a friend when he cannot afford to be an enemy.

"For the ignoramus nothing is better than silence; but if he knew what is better for him he would not have been ignoramus."

"Musk is what gives aroma and not what the chandler claims to be musk. The wiseman is like the shop of a chandler. He silently shows his perfectness, and a stupid fellow is like a drum he has a loud voice but is hollow and worthless from inside."

"Although the clothing of the Sultan are honourable, yet one's worn-out dress is more honourable, although the table of the rich is sweet, yet the meal from one's own bag is sweeter.

"As is known the meekness of the camel is so great that a child can hold its rein and lead it a hundred steps without the camel trying to free itself, but if the camel were to be taken to a dangerous place which could cause its death and the child because of his ignorance wants to go there, the camel will snatch the reign from his hands and from the next time will not be obedient; where harshness is needed, softness is irrelevant."

36. Saadi, 1959

37. Saadi, 1969

They say that by softness you will not be able to make the enemy your friend but you will only increase his pretensions."

"The highest among the beings is obviously man, the lowest is the dog. But the sages unanimously affirm that a thankful dog is better than a thankless man."

Amir Khusrau Dehelvi (1253-1325 A.D.) — the father of the poet hailed from Kesh, but during the Mongol invasion he fled from Maverannahr to India. The poet was born in one of the cities of north India. After completing his education Amir Khusrau chose Delhi for settling down, where he continued his creative work at the court of the Sultan. Besides the *Diwan* of poems consisting of five parts, Amir Khusrau, following in the footsteps of Nizami, the genius son of the Azerbaijani people, wrote his poems in a combination of five. Although the poet persisted with his old topic he changed the theme of the poems and also gave original characteristics to his heroes.

More boldly than other poets, Amir Khusrau worked out local themes. His epic works "*Kiran assaadain*" (about the reconciliation of prince Kei-Kubad with his father Bogra-khan), *Miftah al-futuh* (Key to victories) and *Nukh sipihr* (Nine Celestial Spheres) are written on local themes. These works have, besides large literary value, also a great historical importance. A fairy-tale romantic poem of Amir Khusrau about an Indian prince and his beloved — *Hizr-Khan va Duvalrani* is interesting.

Amir Khusrau was also interested in various sciences, poetry and music.

The first anthology of Tajik poetry surviving until our days *Lubab al-albab* (The Heart of the Hearts), i.e., "the best among the best") was composed in 1221-1222 A.D. Its author Mohd. Aufi belonging to Merv and was brought up and educated in Bukhara. He fled to India to save his life during the Mongol invasion. Here besides the anthology he also compiled a collection of prose writings *Javami al-hiqaiat va lavami ar-rivaiat* (The collection of stories and the rays of the narrations), consisting of novels and legends etc.

Another writer Mohd ibn-Keisrazi, who served at the court of the Khwarezm Shah Mohammad, escaped from the Mongol invaders to the southern regions of present Iran and here in 1223

A.D. he composed the poetics, or the theory of poetry (“evaluator of quality of the poems of Ajam”, i.e., the poetry in Farsi language”) which contains specimen of works of the Tajik poets beginning from the earliest and ending with the contemporaries of the author.

The historical literature in the 13th century developed in a big way. Among the works of such a kind of literature mention may be made of *Tabakati Nasiri* written in 1260 A.D. by a person originating from Gur, Abu Omar Minhaj ad-Din Jujani. Apart from the history of kings of India in *Tabakati Nasiri* is given a detailed description of some of the events of the Gaznavid period, Mongolian rule and, in particular, the troubles of the struggle against Ismailism. This work is also the best source on history of medieval Gur.

Among the historical works which are particularly valuable for the study of the Mongol period may also be mentioned the works of Ala ad-Din Ata Malik Juveini composed by him in Iran (died in 1283 A.D.) *Tarikhi Jahan-gushai* (The History of the Conqueror of the World) and the work of Fazlallah Rashid ad-Din (murdered in 1318 A.D.) *Jami at-tawarikh* (The Collection of Histories). The work of the latter, is viewed by V.V. Bart'old as the first serious attempt at compiling the medieval *World History*.

Chapter 5

Tajik People in the State of Timur and the Timurids

1. Political History, Popular Movements

Timur and his First Steps Towards Power

The Mongol Khans while accepting Islam gradually concentrated around themselves the representatives of the clergy and the merchants and pursued a policy of centralization of the Khan Power.

Their centralizing aspirations led to discontent among the leaders of the Mongol and Turk clans. In the first half of the 14th century in the Chagatai *ulus* the struggle between the Khans and the clan, predominantly Turkic and the Turkicised aristocracy became aggravated. As a result of this struggle the clan leaders obtained big influence and the power of the Khans weakened.

In the middle of the 14th century in Maverannahr, Timur, the son of the Bek of Barlas, entered the political arena. In the beginning Timur "comes up as the chief of soldiers of fortune of different princes",¹ and then the founder of a large state.

Timur was born in 1336 A.D. in the village of Khoja Ilgar near the city of Kesh. This village still exists and is situated thirteen kilometres from the present Shahr-i-Sabz. His father Taragai was one of the famous representatives of the nobility of the Mongol

1. "Arkhib Marksia i Engelsa", T. 6, p. 184.

tribe Barlas, which in the beginning of the 14th century settled down in the valley of the Kashka Daria. Leading a nomadic way of life but already beginning to turn to a settled life, this clan like many other Mongol clans in Maverannahr mixed up with the Turks, gradually losing its language and traditions.

Beginning with 1360 A.D. during ten years Timur took sides with either one or the other feudal rulers and simultaneously united around himself the Barlas tribe.

In 1361 A.D. the Khan of Mogolistan Tugluk—Timur seized Samarkand and the city of Kesh. Timur, having changed to the side of the invaders, joined Tugluk-Timur who helped him to become the ruler of Kesh. However, he did not stay for long in the service of Tugluk-Timur. By joining hands with the ruler of Balkh, Amir Hussain, who was in hostility with Tugluk-Timur, Timur betrayed his first protector.

Amir Hussain and Timur rose in rebellion against Tugluk-Timur but they were defeated and compelled to leave Central Asia and flee to Seistan. In Seistan, Timur was during one of his military adventures wounded in his right hand and leg, and to the end of his life he remained lame. From this his pseudonym “Timuri-lang” is derived (the limping Timur).

In 1364 A.D. Amir Hussain and Timur succeeded in snatching away Maverannahr from the Khan of Mogolistan. People hated both the Amirs, especially Hussain who was known for his cruelty. He listened to the request and complaints of the Samarkand people holding in his hands an iron club. Often instead of giving an answer he pounced upon the complainant and mercilessly beat him with his iron club.²

The son and successor of Tugluk-Timur, Ilias Khoja, came forward against Hussain and Timur with the aim of taking back Maverannahr. In 1365 A.D. Amir Hussain and Timur after collecting an army met the military forces of the enemy on the bank of river Chirchik. This battle is known in history as the “muddy battle”: this battle took place while the rain was pouring, resulting in horses slipping and falling down. Timur and Hussain

2. See Bart'old V.V., 1964-d, p. 369, note 44, text 370.

were defeated, they abandoned Samarkand and Shahr-i-Sabz at the mercy of fate and themselves fled to Balkh crossing the Amu Daria. The troops of the Mogol Khan Ilias Khoja advanced directly to Samarkand. The population of the city found itself in a precarious situation as the garrison of Samarkand had fled along with Amir Hussain and Timur.

The Movement of Sarbedars

At this hard moment the common people came to the defence of the city.³ When the population of Samarkand gathered at the central mosque, one of the students, Maulana-zade ascended the dais surrounded by a group of people with naked swords and said: "Numerous hordes of infidels (Mogols—B.G.) having entered our country to loot it are approaching our city. The ruler who took from every inhabitant large sums as taxes and tributes and spent them as he liked, left us—Muslims—and fled fearing the infidels when the enemy appeared. Now whatsoever ransom the inhabitants of Samarkand give for their lives they will not escape the enemy. At the day of final judgement you noblemen will be held responsible. Now who will take responsibility for defending the population of the city and be answerable for this before the noblemen and the common people? We will bow our heads before such a person and will start performing our duties."⁴

To the appeal of Maulana-zade the nobility of Samarkand responded with total silence.

Then with the consent of all people present there Maulana-zade took the responsibility of leader of the defence of the city. At once ten thousand young men took oath before him. Along with Maulana-zade others who led the defence were Maulana Khurdakh Bukharai and Abu-bakr Kelevi (or *Kulai*, the elderman).

For three nights the leader of the rebels Maulana-zade did not have a wink of sleep: it was necessary to organise the defence and

3. About the movement of Sarbedars in Samarkand see special works: Bart'old V.V., 1964d; Gurievich A.M., 1935 (appendix contains translation of the sources by A.A. Semienov and A.A. Molchanov); Saliyev P., 1936; Nabiev R., 1942; Stroyeva L.V., 1949.

4. Abd-ar-Razzak L.76; Bart'old V.V., 1964d, p. 371.

for this force had to be deployed and the city fortified. All this was to be done hurriedly as the enemy was approaching the city.

The defence of the city was organised very skillfully. The rebels acted fast and were highly disciplined. The city inhabitants were ordered not to sleep and to remain on the positions allocated to them.

Mogol Khan knowing about the escape of Hussain and Timur decided that the city was defenceless. Hence his forward troops entered the main street of Samarkand without any precaution. When they reached the place where Maulana-zade was lying in ambush with his arrowmen, the signal for an overall offensive was given. Mogol troops were attacked from three sides. The defenders of the city standing behind the barricades hurled at them stones and arrows. The Mogols were forced to retreat suffering big losses.

The next day the Mogol troops resumed their attack on Samarkand but notwithstanding all kinds of nomadic tactics of warfare (like pretended fleeing and resort to sudden attack) they could not achieve any success. Then the Mogols decided to lay a long siege of the city. But this also failed. After some time among the troops of the nomads the epidemic of horse plague started and the Mogols were compelled to abandon the siege and retreat, content with the pillage of the city.

In Samarkand a struggle of the poor against the rich started. The toiling masses settled score with the hateful moneylenders and other exploiters. This movement of the residents of Samarkand is known in the historical literature as the movement of "Sarbedars". The term "Sarbedar" appeared in 1336-1337 A.D. with regard to the uprising in the locality of Sebzevar in Khorasan which started against Mogol Khan and big local landowners. The rebels raised a slogan, "It is better to see our heads on the gallows than to die of fear." "Sarbedar" is a complex term formed out of two words: "Sar" (head) and "Dar" (gallows) with the addition of a preposition "be" (on).

The feudal historian of the epoch of Timur interpreting the term "Sarbedar" as "Darbob", (suitable for the gallow) thus called the leaders of the Samarkand movement of 1365, considering them as rebels — opponents of the "lawful" regime. Thus Mirkhond, the

author of *Rauzat-assafa*, wrote, "One group of them (residents of Samarkand—B.G.) outstanding in its power and might and gifted with trouble-making and villainy dared to cross the limit of what was permissible to them, seized power and started violence". Further he added: "Sarbedars began committing vile acts of different types."

Mirkhond did not say anything what these "vile acts" were and merely sympathetically noted that "Hussain and Timur considered curbing and defeating them (Sarbedars—B.G.) as the will of God".

Historian Khondemir (a nephew of Mirkhond and one who continued his work) also gives a negative appraisal of the Sarbedars although he is compelled to recognize their contribution to repelling the invasion of the Mogols: "When the Samarkand Sarbedars successfully tackled these acts of big importance (the expulsion of the Mogols — B.G.) they chose the path of villainy and trouble-making and extended their hands towards capturing the property of their subordinates."⁵

The other historian Sharaf ad-Din Yezdi writes about the Sarbedars: "In the minds of this group which had a big power and might penetrated the wind of vanity, they dared to rise above the limit and extended their hands towards bloodshed and instigation of revolt and capturing power through violence". This evaluation he confirms with his rhyme: "O God, let it not happen, a beggar becoming an honourable person!"⁶

Sarbedars defended the interests of craftsmen and lower strata of the urban population that is why the measures taken by them were in conflict with the interests of the aristocracy in Samarkand.

When the news of the retreat of the Mogol forces from Samarkand reached Timur he at once sent his envoy to Amir Hussain and a little later he himself also met him. After discussing the situation, they decided not to hurry with the occupation of Samarkand as they perhaps feared to meet a strong resistance from its defenders. Not daring to openly fight with the Samarkandis they decided to take upon them by resort to cunning.

5. Mirkhond, Tom 6, pp. 12-13; Khondemir, Tom 3, Part 3, p. 9.

6. Sharaf ad-Din Yezdi, 1887, p. 110.

In order to mislead the defenders of Samarkand they wrote a letter to the leader of defence of the city that they were entrusting him the rule of the city and that none of the inhabitants would be punished. They confirmed this promise on oath on an accompanying letter along with robe of honour and other gifts. Along with eloquent envoys they sent to Samarkand also special emissaries, who were to penetrate into the city and taking advantage of the heterogeneity of the composition of the Sarbedars, for preparing the ground for the seizure of the city.

The action of the emissaries of Amir Hussain and Timur trying to attract the wavering strata of urban population, the indecisive line of the well-to-do section of the Sarbedars and also the preparedness of certain influential persons among them for a compromise with Amir Hussain and Timur brought about a rift among the Sarbedars.

In the beginning of the spring of 1366 A.D. Amir Hussain and Timur reached Samarkand with their troops and halting in a camp here wrote a letter to the Sarbedars: "We fully trust you and consider you better than other rulers." Believing their promises, the leaders of the Sarbedars came to the camp of Amir Hussain but on arrival there, they were captured and executed. Only Maulana-zade was spared his life at the instance of Timur. Thus the movement of Samarkand Sarbedars was rendered headless and harshly suppressed. Amir Hussain and Timur again became the rulers of Samarkand.

The movement of 1365-1366 A.D. encompassed perhaps not only Samarkand but also the villages adjacent to it. However, the historical sources throw little light on it. Nevertheless Khondemir informs: "After Amir Hussain occupied Samarkand the other regions also stopped defiance and disobedience."

The information given by written sources about this movement which is preserved in works of feudal historiography is extremely fragmented and tendentious. Very little is known about the social programme and policy of the leaders of the uprising. Only there are few scanty references. We are also unaware of most of the measures implemented during the time of uprising.

Usually in historical works of a general character and in the special researches the Samarkand movement of the Sarbedars is

interpreted as simply a reaction of the urban population to the threat of capture of the city by the Mogols. However, it is difficult to imagine how in this event the city dwellers could organize within a short period of few days an excellent defence against numerically superior and militarily more skillful enemies. Most likely, in the city on the eve and may be even long before this event, existed a powerful Sarbedar organisation, and forces prepared to go ahead with the Sarbedar aims and slogans.

As is known, in western Khorasan in 1337-1381 A.D., that is, during approximately half a century there existed a state of the Sarbedars and in Mazanderan in 1350-1392 and in Gilian starting from 1370 A.D. the so-called Seiid states came into existence. The Sarbedar movement in Samarkand (1365-1366 A.D.) and in Kermin (1373 A.D.) should be viewed not in an isolated way but in the context of all these movements, the ideas of which, and perhaps some definite but covert forms of organization in the middle and the third quarter of the 14th century, had penetrated into Central Asia.

The states of the Sarbedar type as well as the other neighbouring states were built on the monarchical principle. However there was a principal difference in their social base. In the Sarbedar state the power was in the hands of the small feudals and these states could survive only on the support of the peasants and craftsmen. The military forces consisted of the volunteer corps recruited from among the small landowners and the free peasants and not from among the feudals with their military retinues. Not only the army but also the rule was democratized; though at the helm of the state stood the Sarbedar aristocracy, its external forms were completely different. Even rulers wore simple clothes. There was equality in distribution of the war booty. The rulers organized common feasts for all. Once a year the house of the ruler was opened up for "ransacking" by the crowd. All this was the outcome of adaptation of the aristocracy to the "levelling" tendencies of the radical wing of the Sarbedardom and were implemented under pressure of the popular masses.

As I.P. Petrushevskii rightly observes rightly, "The Sarbedar state was not a peasant democracy. It was a state of small

landowners which however could exist only thanks to considerable concessions made to the peasantry." These concessions were related not only to the outer forms. It is enough to say that all the taxes and tributes which were not based on the *Sheriat* were in general annulled. The lands of the big feudals were confiscated. These lands fell into the hands of that strata which formed the Sarbedar aristocracy. Perhaps, the condition of the urban population was also made easier. As a result of the measures implemented under pressure of the popular masses, the urban population won better conditions. The regions included in the Sarbedar-Khorasan state, cities and rural districts literally blossomed.⁷

Even from this short sketch of the Khorasan Sarbedars and their programme and policy it becomes clear what an attractive force this movement must have become for the popular masses of Maverannahr. In Samarkand the Sarbedar movement had perhaps deep roots. That is why Timur, while sparing Maulana-zade's life showing such unusual "humanism" for him, merely intended to win over the sympathies of the urban population as a cunning and farsighted politician. However, his manoeuvring did not succeed and the popular masses incessantly rose in uprisings against him.

About the strong traditions of the Sarbedar movement in Samarkand testifies the fact that after the establishment of the power of Timur, each time when he was far away, the Samarkand people rose in rebellion. During 18 years (1370-1388 A.D.) there were nine such uprisings⁸; but notwithstanding all the cruelties of Timur the Samarkandis bravely fought for freedom.⁸

The Seizure of Power by Timur in Maverrannahr and His Further Conquests

After the seizure of Samarkand the relations between Amir Hussain and Timur got aggravated. During the rule of Amir Hussain, Timur was the ruler of Sahr-i-Sabz and Karshi and

7. For an analysis of the history, social base and ideology of the Sarbedar movement in Khorasan see: Petrushevskii I.P., 1956.

8. Ibn Arab Shah, 1868-1869, p. 16. About these uprisings, Stroyeva L.V., 1949, pp. 280-281.

covertly acted against his formerly. In 1370 A.D. he made a coup d'état in Samarkand as a result of which Amir Hussain was killed and Timur became the Amir of the entire Maverannahr.

Not being a descendant of Chenghiz Khan, Timur did not take the title Khan. He declared himself Amir with the addition of the word "Gurgan" (i.e., the son-in-law), because he married the widow of Amir Hussain — daughter of Chengizid Kazan-khan. Timur ruled with the help of dummy khans of Suyurgatmish (1327-1388 A.D.) and his son Sultan Mahmud (1388-1402 A.D.).⁹

Timur formed a dependable force from out of the Chagatide tribes mainly from the Barlas which were close to him. He gave them various privileges. The army contingents drawn from these tribes were the mainstay of his power. The Spanish envoy Gansalez de Claviho who visited in 1404 A.D. the capital of Timur's state, Samarkand, writes in his memoirs: "These Chakatai have special privileges from the king; they can roam anywhere they want with their herds, grazing them, sowing and living wherever they want in winter as well as summer. They are free and do not pay taxes to the king because they serve him during the war when he calls them."¹⁰

After crushing the uprising of the popular masses including the most powerful one, that of the Sarbedars in Samarkand, Timur started fighting with the local feudals who wanted to become independent. The centralizing action of Timur was supported by the influential section of urban population — rich craftsmen and merchants — interested in liquidation of the power of the feudal rulers and their internecine wars. Timur attracted to his side the clergy also by giving them various economic privileges. By organizing plunderous raids on the neighbouring countries and raising the prospects of easy booty he could stimulate the appetite of small rulers who accepted his suzerainty.

Starting his wars of conquest which lasted 35 years, Timur first of all established his power in the lower part of the Syr Daria where at that time was located the Khanate of the White Horde. Meddling with the inter-dynastic disputes of the White Horde, Timur supported one of the pretenders to the Khan's throne,

9. Bart'old V.V., 1964 d, pp. 42, 47-48.

10. Claviho, 1881, p. 220.

Tokhtamish-khan, who with his help also became the Khan of the Golden Horde.

In 1372 A.D. Amir Timur for the first time captured Khwarezm. Subsequently, he raided five times the rebellious Khwarezmians, the last time in 1388. During this last raid, the capital of Khwarezm, the city of Urgench (Gurganj), one of the centres of trade between Eastern Europe and Central Asia, was razed to ground on the order of Timur. The city population was taken away to Samarkand and on the site of the destroyed city barley was sown. Only in 1391 A.D. Timur allowed the restoration of Urgench.

In 1388 A.D. Timur started a fierce and long-extending fight with Tokhtamish who had deserted him. In 1392 Timur invaded the Caucasus, looting and subjugating Armenia and Georgia. In 1395 A.D. he defeated the troops of Tokhtamish and chasing the remnants of his troops invaded across the Russian border (reached Yelets). Soon after Timur seized and destroyed the capital of the Golden Horde—the city of Sarai Berke situated on the bank of the Volga and thus inflicted a final defeat on the Golden Horde.¹¹

All this according to A. Iu. Yakubovskii inflicted an “irreparable blow” on the Golden Horde. The spinal chord of the state which brought so much suffering and misery to ancient Russia was broken. The Golden Horde after 1395 A.D. clearly began to decline. The defeat of Mamai in 1380 A.D. at the battlefield of Kulikova was the first significant blow delivered to the Golden Horde. The defeat on the river Terek in 1395 A.D. and the fall of Sarai was the second blow. Timur was waging war against the Golden Horde for the sake of the Central Asian interest and without any contact with the Moscow ruler about whom he did not have any idea. However, he objectively did a useful job not only for Central Asia but for Russia as well (although in the same year, that is, 1395 he looted several southern Russian cities).¹²

Fighting with the Golden Horde Timur at the same time was conducting military action against Iran as a result of which Iran

11. Grekov B.D., Yakubovskii A.Iu., 1950, pp. 316-373.

12. Yakubovskii A.Iu., 1946a, p. 64.

was included in his empire. Timur also made three plundering raids on India. In 1398 A.D. he captured Delhi, took hold of the large treasury there and in 1399 A.D. returned to Samarkand. Next year Timur defeated the Egyptian Sultan on the territory of Syria and in 1402 A.D. in the battle near Ankara completely crushed the troops of the Turkish Sultan Bayazid. On his return to his capital in 1404 Timur began intensive military preparations for the conquest of China and in the beginning of the year 1405 advanced with his troops towards the East. However, he could not execute his design because on the way (in Atrar) he died suddenly.

As a result of the numerous military expeditions and conquests, Timur was able to establish a large empire which included not only Maverannahr, Khwarezm, the near-Caspian regions, the territory of present Afghanistan but also Iran and part of India, Iraq, parts of southern Caucasus and several countries of Western Asia. The military campaigns of Timur had an openly predatory character. For example, during the fight with Tokhtamish, he devastated the Volga region to such an extent that a famine broke out there. The flourishing northern India was also barbarically ravaged by him. The bandit hordes of Timur took away from there vast riches leaving behind devastated cities and villages, epidemics and famines. A populous Armenia, as an eye-witness recalls, "Timur turned into desert by famine, sword, imprisonment, brutal suffering and by his inhuman behaviour."¹³

The campaigns of conquest by Timur were followed by brutal atrocities. In 1387 A.D. during the siege of Isphahan, he ordered his troops to behead 70 thousand of peaceful population and build a pyramid from their heads. In India in 1398 A.D. 100 thousand prisoners were murdered. In 1401 A.D. in Damascus he gave an order that every warrior should bring a chopped off human head. From these heads were afterwards built pyramids. In the same year 1401 A.D. after crushing the uprising in Baghdad on the day of the festival of Qurban he ordered his warriors to behead 90 thousand persons and from their heads to build 120 pyramids. Implementing his order the warriors of Timur brutally killed women and children and also prisoners brought from Syria. After

13. Foma Metsonskii, 1957, p. 62.

the death of Timur, Sharaf ad-Din Yezdi in his *Zafarnama* wrote that in the vast empire of Timur there were lots of such pyramids made from human heads. After capturing one city in Asia Minor Timur ordered to throw on the ground all the children and drive horse carriage over them. This was the kind of harvest threshing, remarks an eye-witness of the event.

The tragic events in Khorasan (Sebzevar) surpassed in their brutality even these savage deeds. The population of Sebzevar rose against the bloody rule of Timur. In 1383 A.D. after suppressing this uprising Timur ordered live persons to be plastered in making walls and several walls were constructed in this manner. There were cases when the warriors of Timur buried alive the enemy taken as prisoners. Once on the order of Timur 4000 persons were executed in this manner. "...The policy of Timur"—writes Marx—"was to cut off, torture and annihilate, women, children and young men in thousands in order to strike terror everywhere...."¹⁴ Thus Timur tried to keep in submission the population which he savagely exploited.

The historical sources attribute to him this saying: "The entire space of the inhabited part of the world does not deserve to have more than one king."¹⁵ Indeed apart from plundering and exploiting the population of the conquered countries, Timur strove to establish world domination. He made it his goal to re-establish the fallen Mongol empire. Timur may be called the gatherer of the fallen empire of Chenghiz Khan. However, it must be noted that he was not able to realise this goal. He could not organize in the countries conquered by him a uniform kind of rule whatsoever.

Devastating cultured countries, Timur at the same time tried to create a well-organized infrastructure of public utility in the Central Asian region which formed the basis of his power. On his order were executed large irrigation and road-building projects. For this purpose Timur brought into Maverannahr groups of imprisoned masters, scientists and artists from Mesopotamia, Syria and India. In particular, many artisans, scientists and artists were

14. "Arkhib Marksa i Engelsa", Tom 6, p. 85.

15. Sharaf ad-Din Yezdi, 1887, Tom 1, p. 306.

brought to the capital of Timur—Samarkand. That is why Samarkand grew extremely fast during this period.

In the interests of merchants and the feudal elite connected with trade Timur also took measures to turn Samarkand into the biggest centre of trade. Gonsalez de Claviho writes about this as follows: "As in it (in Samarkand—B.G.) there was not much place to sell everything in an orderly manner, the king ordered to build a street across the city where on both sides there would be shops and kiosks for sale of goods."¹⁶

This work was done in a way characteristic of Timur. On the order of his officials the houses and other buildings which stood on the street to be built, were removed and their owners fled in order to escape trouble. "The street was made very wide and on both sides of it kiosks were put up... from above, the entire street was covered with dome having windows through which light was to come. As soon as the job was finished the traders at once occupied the shops and started selling different goods."¹⁷

Timur tried to direct the trade routes again through Maverannahr and to destroy the trade which was going on between Europe and the East through the Golden Horde. He destroyed Sarai and Urgench so that these cities lost their importance for trade.

After the conquest of Iran, Timur partially reconstructed the world trade route which passed through Maverannahr.¹⁸ The traders now went from Iran to Sultania and from there through Herat and Balkh to Samarkand and after that through Taraz they went to Mongolia.

The Dynastic Struggle Among the Timurids

Soon after the death of Timur, the empire created by him disintegrated and Maverannahr turned into an arena of bloody dynastic struggle. Already during his life, Timur appointed his

16. Claviho, 1881, p. 316.

17. *Ibid*, pp. 317-318.

18. In the correspondence of Timur with the rulers of the states of Western Europe, French King Charles VI and English King Henry IV the questions of development of trade occupied an important place. See: Umniakov I.I., 1956; *The History of Samarkand* Tom. 1, 1969, pp. 173-189.

sons Jehangir, Umar Sheikh, Miran Shah, Shah Rukh and grandsons Mohammad Sultan, Pir Muhammad, Ibrahim and Ulug Bek as rulers of parts of the state.

Even several days did not pass after the death of Timur that every one among the Timurids declared himself independent. The grandson of Timur, ruler of Tashkent Khalil Sultan (son of Miran Shah) gathered the troops, and overtaking another grandson of Timur (son of Jehangir) Pir Mohammad, whom Timur appointed his successor captured the capital of the state, Samarkand. Repeated attempts of Pir Mohammad to restore his rights did not succeed. In 1406 A.D. he was killed.

The Timurids had to struggle with the representatives of former dynasties who were dislodged by Timur. On the west and north-west of Iran, the representatives of one of the Turkmen dynasty, Kara-Kuiunlu, in Turkestan Amir Khudaidar and Sheikh Nur ad-Din rose in rebellion. While Khalil Sultan was fighting on the bank of Amu Daria with the troops of Pir Mohammad, Khudaidar united the troops of Mogols and Kalmuks and intruded into Maverannah. He captured Samarkand and took Khalil Sultan prisoner during the battle.

For the Timurids an extremely dangerous situation occurred. The son of Timur, Shah Rukh who ruled in Herat and was considered as a nominal heir of Timur, hastily collected troops and advanced towards Maverannah.

After defeating troops of Khudaidad, Shah Rukh got him murdered and freed Khalil. However, he did not restore Khalil in his rights as the heir of the throne but appointed him the ruler of Rei. The rule of Samarkand and the entire Maverannah was entrusted by Shah Rukh to his 15-year old son Ulug Bek in 1409 A.D. After this he moved his troops towards Iran.

Gradually depriving from power the successors of the three elder sons of Timur (sons of Jehangir, Umar Sheikh and Miran Shah), the enterprising Shah Rukh made his son Ibrahim Sultan the ruler of Shiraj and to his other son, Suiurgatmish, gave the rule over Kabul, Gazna and Kandhar.

Meanwhile the representative of the Turkmen dynasty Kara-Kuiunlu managed to take back the territory which they had possessed before the conquest of Timur, and considerably

expanded it. Shah Rukh carried out against Kara-Kuiunlu three military campaigns, but failing to gain a decisive victory agreed to conclude peace and conceded the rule over Azerbaijan to one of the representatives of this dynasty, Jahan Shah.

During the rule of Shah Rukh (1405-1447 A.D.) the state of Timur though losing a part of its territory, had preserved its might. In fact, from the possessions of Shah Rukh two states were formed. Shah Rukh himself with the center in Herat formed one state and the other state under Ulug Bek with centre in Samarkand.¹⁹

The Rule of Ulug Bek

When Shah Rukh appointed 15-years old Ulug Bek ruler of Samarkand, the power in fact was in the hands of the outstanding military commander, an associate of Timur, Amir Shah-Malik. Already on 20 April 1410 Ulug Bek and his guardian had to flee from Samarkand under the offensive of the other military commander of Timur, the ruler of Turkestan. In order to put everything right Shah Rukh came himself with a large army to defeat the troops of the rebel feudals. Two years later he (Shah Rukh) was killed.

The power of Shah Rukh was finally established in Central Asia. The dependence on the guardian was irksome for Ulug Bek who many times complained against him to his father. Political expediency also demanded the withdrawal of Shah Malik (he had many enemies among the Central Asian aristocracy), and this was done. In 1411 the 17-year old Ulug Bek became not only formal but actual ruler of Maverannahr.

But the supreme power remained in the hands of Shah Rukh. Ulug Bek visited Herat several times to pay respect to his father. He always sought advice of his father on important matters and reported to him. At the same time the contemporaries of Ulug Bek did not consider him as vice-regent, practically in all respects he

19. The credit for detailed research on the entire history of Central Asia in the times of Ulug Bek goes to V.V. Bart'old (1964). See also: Ahmedov B.A., 1965.

was independent but did not openly defy his father or did not let relations reach a breaking point.

In 1414 A.D. Ulug Bek undertook successful military action against the ruler of Fargana, prince Ahmad. Fargana and later Kashgar were joined to his possessions. The strengthened Uzbeks and Mogolistan gave Ulug Bek lot of trouble. In the beginning he succeeded in putting his proteges on the throne of these nomadic states. But soon they again started defying him. In 1425, he crushed the Mogol Amirs in the region of the Issykul lake and river Ili, captured booty including nephrite which was used for the tomb-stone of Timur.²⁰

The inscription in the gorge of Jilianutin (on the way between Jizak and Samarkand) is also a monument of these events in which Ulug Bek informs that he undertook the military campaign and "from those people returned unhurt in these countries."²¹

But two years later the troops of Ulug Bek were badly defeated by nomadic Uzbeks. It was, however, to a great extent, because of carelessness and lack of administrative abilities of Ulug Bek himself and the leaders of his army. The conquerors ravaged the country. Shah Rukh himself came to the rescue of his son with a large army.

The guilty ones for military defeat were severely punished. Ulug Bek was removed from power but restored by his father out of pity.

After this Ulug Bek did not take the risk of heading a military expedition. The actions of the troops sent by him against the nomads usually did not bring success. The nomadic Uzbeks not only captured a considerable part of Khwarezm but invaded Maverannahr and northern provinces of Iran many times. Thus Ulug Bek did not win any military laurels.

From among the inter-state measures of Ulug Bek it is necessary to highlight his monetary reform of 1428 A.D. which played a positive role in bringing order to the monetary sphere and trade. This reform was in harmony with the interests of the toiling population (for more details about this see below). Perhaps during

20. Masson M.E., 1948.

21. Lerkh P.I., 1870, p. 26.

Ulug Bek's rule the land tax was lower than in the second half of the 15th century after the death of this ruler. Here are the words of Daulat Shah: "During the rule of his father Shah Rukh, Ulug Bek governed Samarkand and Maverannahr independently for forty years. He followed commendable rules for the cause of law and justice."

Ulug Bek differed from Shah Rukh in many ways. The latter was an orthodox Muslim who saw his main task not only to follow exactly all the rules of the *Sheriat* himself, but also to force others—all his subjects—to do so. In Herat, the capital of the state dominated an atmosphere of rigour and piety.

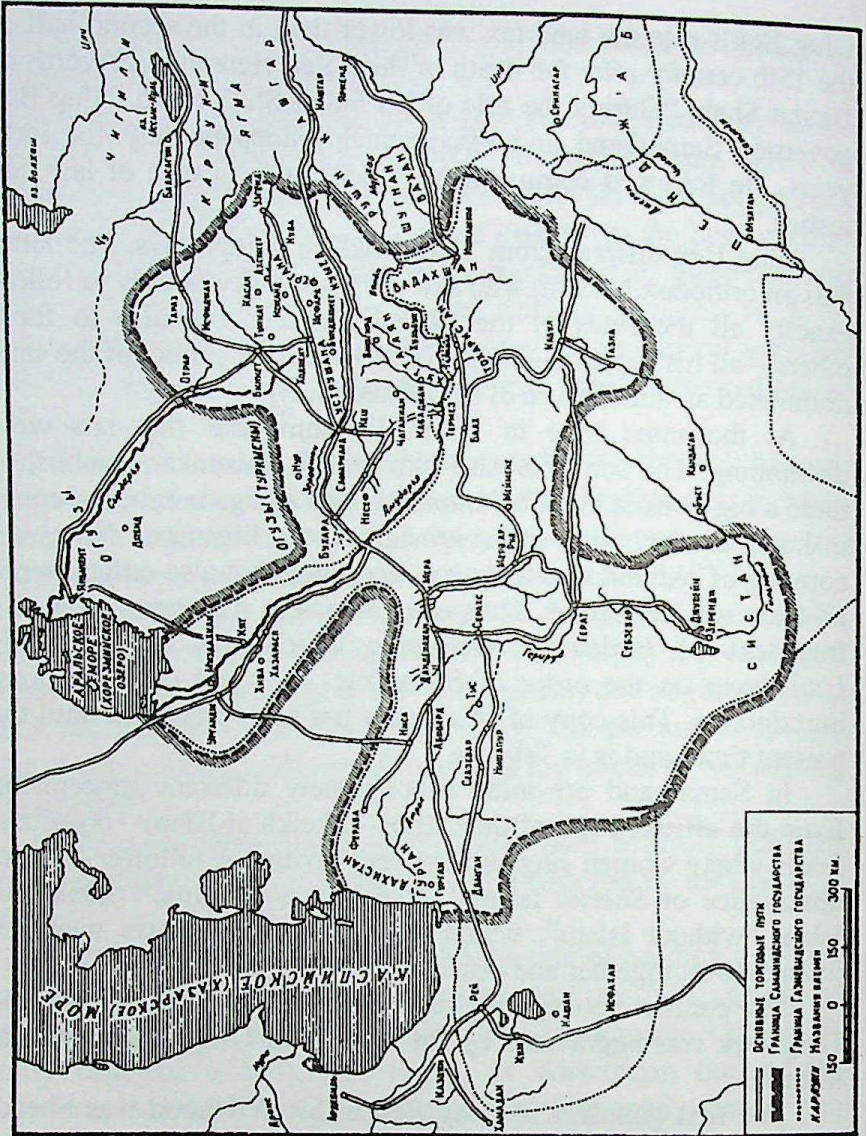
At the same time in Herat, literature and fine arts were developing. The son of Shah Rukh, prince Baisunkar, established there a big book store (*kitabkhana*). It had a large number of copy-makers, binders and even specialists on literature. Not only copying of old and rare texts was done here but also critical work on texts was organized. Thus one can assess the preparation of a free text of Firdausi's *Shahnama* which was done in this *kitabkhana* on the order of Baisunkar. This text carried a long introduction. This copy of *Shahnama* has been preserved until the present times and is in Teheran.²²

In Samarkand prevailed a completely different atmosphere. Even the official head of the clergy—Sheikh al-Islam—organized feasts where women singers also were invited. A follower of strict observance of *Sheriat* norms asked him a question: "Sheikh al-Islam "without Islam", which religious school allows men and women to sit together and drink?"

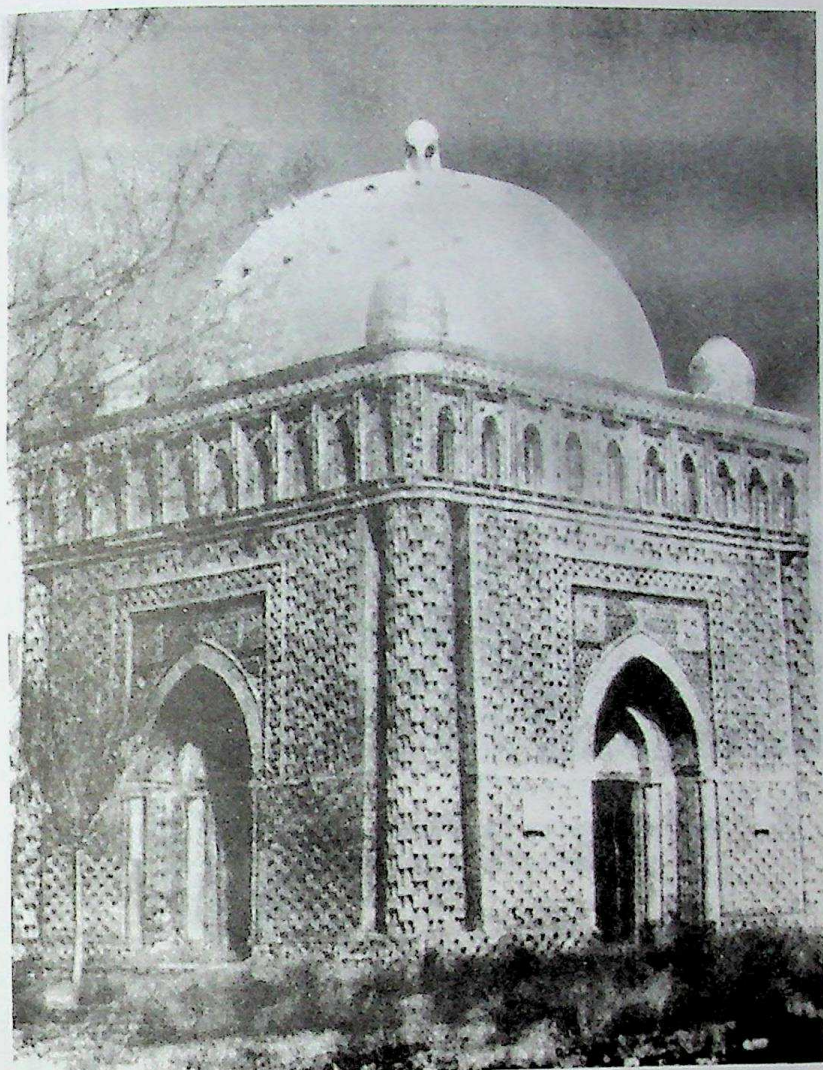
The conflict between the representatives of Muslim piety and Ulug Bek was aggravated by the interest of Ulug Bek in secular sciences.

The first guardian of Ulug Bek in his childhood was Sheikh Arif Azari—a story-teller, poet and famous scientist. Later there were other teachers as well. Among them Kazi-zade Rumi who was called "Plato" of his times, Gias ad-Din and others are worth mentioning. Ulug Bek had a sound knowledge of literature. He was proficient in Turkic, Tajik and Arabic languages. He himself wrote poems in Turkic and Tajik languages, was a connoisseur of

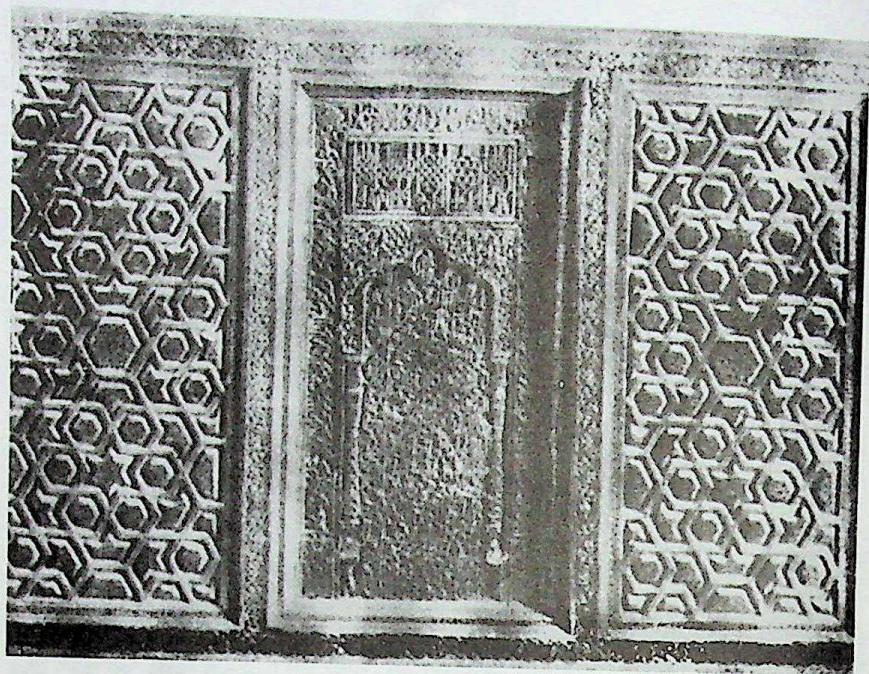
22. Bart'old V.V., 1964d, pp. 120-121; Romaskevich A.A., 1934, p. 14; Yakubovskii A.Iu., 1946, pp. 20-21; Bertels E.E., 1960, pp. 169-170.



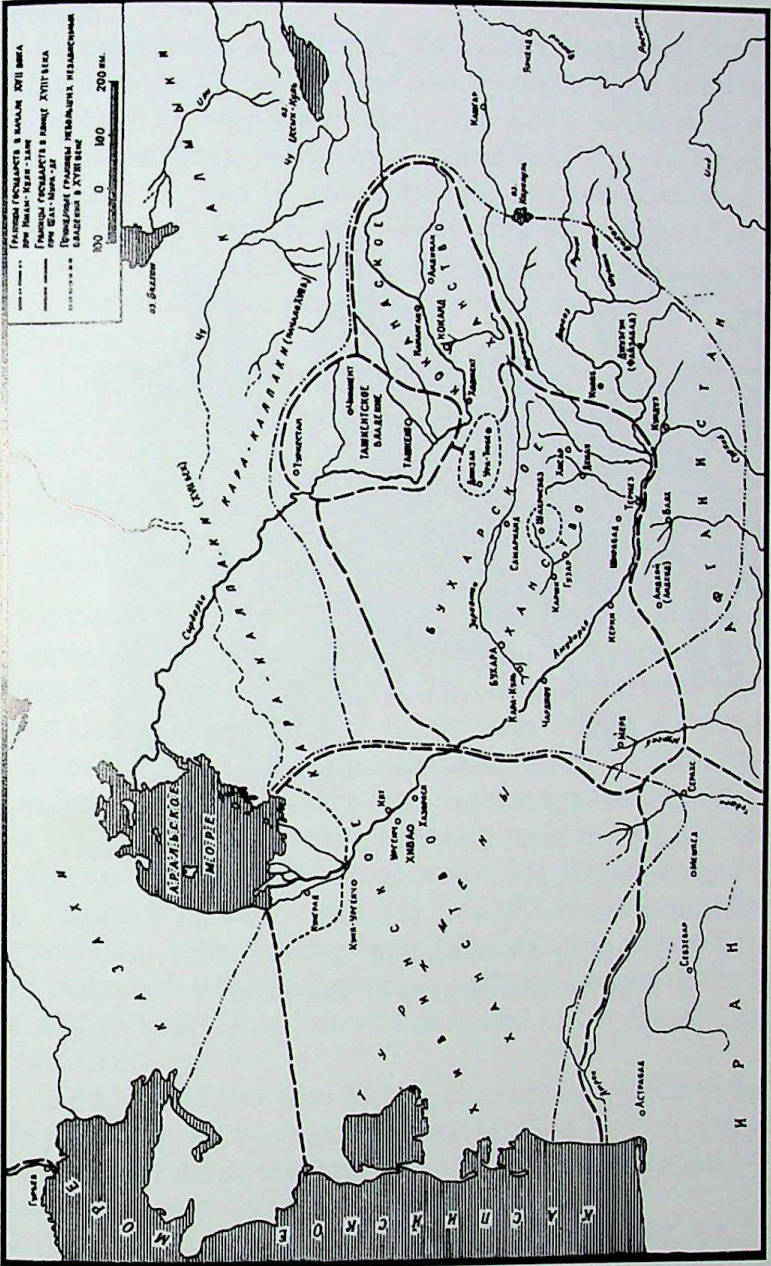
Samarkand and Gaznavid State



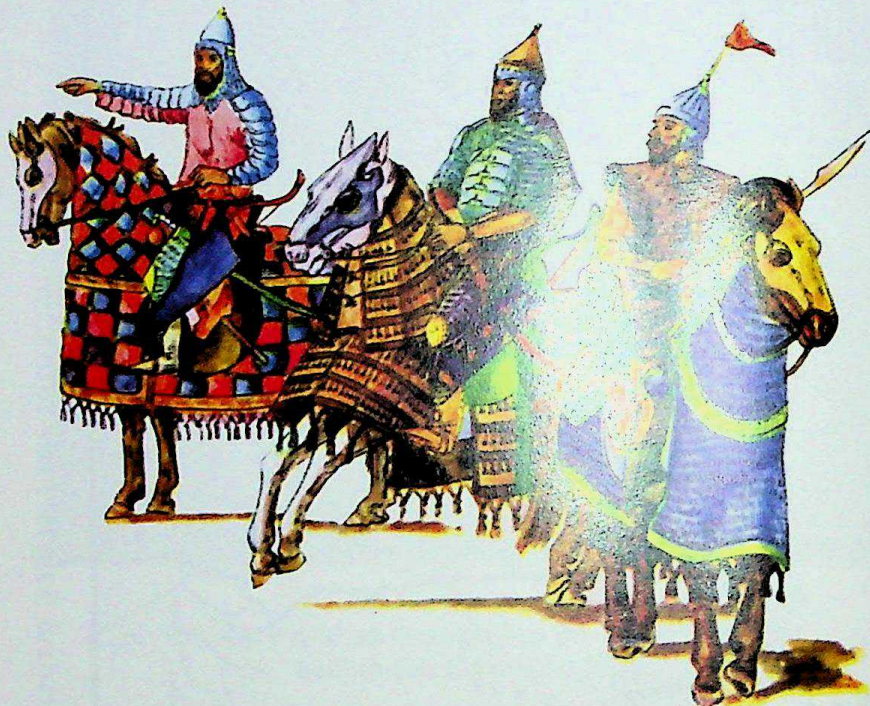
Mausoleum of the Samanids in Bukhara (9th-10th centuries)



**Carved Relief on Cenotaph in the Mausoleum of
Saif ad-Din Bakhraji (14th c.)**



Central Asia in 17th–18th Centuries



Warriors of the Timurid Period (15th c.)
(in the Miniatures of Bekhzod)

music and author of five musical works. He also had an interest in medicine.

He participated in scientific discussions, impressing not only by his phenomenal memory, but also by depth of his knowledge. In his encyclopaedic knowledge, Ulug Bek's favourite sciences were mathematics, particularly astronomy. He collected in Samarkand the best of mathematicians and astronomers of that period. An astronomical observatory with advanced instruments was built. The results of the works of the observatory in which Ulug Bek took direct part were new astronomical tables with a wide theoretical introduction.²³

In Samarkand, Bukhara, Kesh, and Gijavan on the order of Ulug Bek many monumental buildings were constructed including the famous *madrassa* on the Samarkand Registan.²⁴

The Assassination of Ulug Bek

The Feudal Strifes

After the death of Shah Rukh (1447 A.D.) Ulug Bek for sometime occupied Herat, the capital city. But at this time nomadic Uzbeks intruded into the region of Samarkand and surrounded the city. Ulug Bek had to come back to Maverannahr. On his return he suffered big losses in the army. This undermined his authority. The population was dissatisfied by the fact that the central power was not able to bring to an end plundering raids and pillage. Taking advantage of this dissatisfaction which was further instigated by the clergy, Ulug Bek's own son Abd al-Latif rose in rebellion against him. In the ensuing battle Ulug Bek was utterly defeated and dethroned. With the knowledge (and undoubtedly on the order of Abd al-Latif) Ulug Bek was murdered at the end of October 1449 A.D.

Abd al-Latif had been longing to occupy the Timurid throne. He was supported by the representatives of the Muslim clergy and the leaders of the *dervish* brotherhoods who hated Ulug Bek.

23. Masson M.E., 1941; Kari-Niyazov T.N., 1950; Shishkin V.A., 1953; Voronovskii D.G., 1965; Kari-Niyazov T.N., 1965; Sirajinov S.Kh., Matviyevskaya G.P., 1965; Shishkin V.A., 1965.

24. Pugachenkova G.A., 1965.

Having murdered his father, Abd al-Latif killed his brothers also in order to liquidate the claimants to the throne. But six months later he himself was killed by military conspirators. After this the dynastic struggle between the Timurids got intensified. The nomadic tribes took advantage of internecine wars. These tribes started playing a more important role in the political life of the country. With the direct help of Uzbek nomadic tribes united under the leadership of Abul-Khair-Khan, the Timurid Abu Said succeeded in restoring in Maverannahr the power of the successors of Miran Shah.

During the rule of Sultan Abu Said (1455-1469 A.D.) the development of science and literature changed to intensification of religious fanaticism and to the influence of the reactionary clergy and *dervishism*. Not only Samarkand and Bukhara but the entire Maverannahr started losing the importance of a leading country of the East.

The role of reactionary *dervishism* grew to such an extent that the Timurid state was subjected to the leader of *dervish* brotherhoods—the biggest feudal Khoja Ahrar. It may be stated that the 40-year old rule of Ulug Bek was replaced by the almost also 40-year rule of Khoja Ahrar, who was one of the darkest figures in the history of the peoples of Central Asia.

In the middle of 15th century in Khorasan, a fierce fight was going on for the seizure of supreme power. Abu Said succeeded in capturing the throne of Herat and unite under his power the territory from the Tien-shan to Baghdad and from the steppes of Kyrgyzia to the river Indus. However, this unification was, in fact, nominal as it was impossible to fight against separatism of big feudals who were actually complete masters of entire provinces and districts.²⁵

25. During the rule of Abu Said the western parts of Iran from Azerbaijan to the shores of the Indian Ocean considered earlier a part of the state of Timur went into the hands of the western Oguz dynasty Kara-Kuyunlu (1410-1468 A.D.). In 1458 A.D. Jehan Shah made an attempt to conquer Khorasan, even seized Herat, but could not succeed on the whole and was compelled to leave these territories. In 1459 A.D. between him and Abu Said an agreement was reached according to which the western part of Iran was left in the possession of Jehan Shah and Khorasan was taken over

About the extent of power of feudal separatism, particularly in Khorasan, a contemporary historian Abd-r-Razzak Samarkandi narrates quite vividly: "The most astonishing was the fact that every fortress situated in this country was in possession of one or the other head."

Maverannahr from 1469 A.D. went to the children of Abu Said and Khorasan to the successors of Omar Sheikh, the most leading representative of whom was at this period Sultan Hussain Ibn Mansur ibn Baikara who succeeded in establishing a firm power in Herat and to keep it during a period of 40 years.²⁶

2. The Economy, Socio-Economic Relations

The General Condition of the Economy and the Exploitation of the Peasantry

During the rule of the Timurids, agriculture was in a considerably better situation than under the Mongols. The wars of Timur were ruinous. He annihilated a large number of people particularly in those cities and regions where he was met with resistance. But at the same time he undertook some measures for restoration of irrigational channels ruined by the Mongols and expanding the sown areas in some regions of the state. His taxation policy also created relatively good conditions for the upsurge and development of agriculture. The Timurids, with the exception of the period of internecine wars, mainly continued this policy of the founder of the state.²⁷

It is known that Timur constructed large irrigation works in the Merv oasis, in the valley of Murgab river. He ordered the military commanders and the aristocracy to cut canals from the Murgab river; sources name 20 such canals, many of them carried the

by Abu Said. After the death of Jehan Shah, Abu Said tried to restore the power of the Timurid states on western Iran but did not succeed. He was imprisoned and killed (1469 A.D.). Thus the western part of Iran was left out of the domains of the later Timurid rulers.

26. Bart'old V.V., 1964e; Yakubovskii A.Iu., 1946.

27. Zhukovskii V.A., 1894, p. 71; Bart'old V.V., 1964d, p. 62; 1965a, pp. 151-152; 194-195; Mahmudov N., 1966, p. 13.

names of important military leaders and aristocracy of Timur's times. Later Shah Rukh took measures to restore here the main dam called Sultan-Bend and also to clean the choked canals. A large part of the area in the Merv oasis was irrigated on the initiative of Sultan Husain. Irrigation works were also developed in some other regions of the state (for example, in the region of capital Herat and Samarkand). During the Timurid rule, private initiative was also encouraged: persons who cultivated waste lands were given concessions.

Several questions related to socio-economic history of Central Asia in the 15th century have not yet been solved. Some have even not been raised. However, Soviet historians have done a lot of work and continue to pay attention to the agrarian relations in this period,²⁸ so that important regularities, processes and phenomena can be highlighted more fully and concretely than it had been possible during the preceding period.

Khiraj—the main land tax-rent during the time of Timur and the Timurids was collected in two ways: from the share of the crop in kind or from the measured area in cash.²⁹ Mainly *khiraj* was collected in kind and was of a fixed size. According to some sources from cultivated lands it was equal as a rule to one-third of the crop.

In the sources, examples are mentioned how officials were punished for their abuse of power and exceeding the norms of collection: in some cases they were allegedly forced to return to the peasants what was taken from them above the norm. On the occasion of some festivals, individual regions were for some time exempted from *khiraj*.

28. Azimjanova S.A., 1954, 1957; Belenitskii A.M., 1945; Mahmudov N., 1966; Molchanov A.A., 1940; Chekhovich O.D., 1965 and others.

29. However, *Khiraj* cannot be considered in all cases a monetary form of rent as is mentioned in the sources. N. Mahmudov (1966, p. 70) thinks that only the *khiraj* paid in money to Timur by one of his rulers or the *khiraj* which was brought from Khorasan to Samarkand and which was collected by the envoy of Timur from the tax officer of Khorasan was in monetary form. As such, it is hardly proper to speak about authentic monetary form of *khiraj*. It is more likely that we have here cases when *khiraj* usually was collected in kind and only evaluated in money and paid in money into the treasury of the central power.

But the same sources also inform that "particularly during the internecine wars" *khiraj* was collected often several times a year or exceeding all norms, and over and above all kinds of taxes, completely arbitrary collection from the population was made.

In this connection the testimony of Daulat Shah on the norms and monetary form of *khiraj* not from part of the crop but from a certain area of land is interesting. From this, it is evident that this norm during Ulug Bek's reign was lower than at that period (1487 A.D.) when Daulat Shah wrote his account.³⁰ Whether similar change in part of the *khiraj* taken in kind out of the crop had taken place is not known yet. But it is more likely that if the norm was changed it must have applied to all kinds of *khiraj*.

Besides one main tax-rent of the 15th century, there were many other additional ones, also legalised, taken either in cash or kind. The entire group of such additional taxes was meant for the upkeep of the administrative apparatus. There was a special tax on fruit trees — "sar-darakht".

Per capita tax introduced by the Mongols was preserved during the 15th century under the name of "sar-shomar". (Besides, the "smoky" tax called "dudi" was periodically collected. Highly burdensome was the postal tax—"Ulag" (according to which the population was to provide horses to all kinds of envoys, and the collections "peshkash" for gifts and offerings which had an irregular character providing possibilities for abuse. Not for nothing, Timur, for example, banned the collection of "peshkash". During the wars special additional taxes were collected from the population. However, the officials tried to collect such taxes in peaceful times as well.

A third form of rent—labour rent—under the name of "begar" was also widely used during the Timurid period for construction and repair of fortresses and city walls, for digging and cleaning of canals, etc. It was a harsh tax which above all disrupted the main work of the people.

Thus, on the whole, the exploitation of the popular masses was of a very high level. However, researchers justly consider that

30. Bart'old V.V., 1964d, p. 132; Chekhovich O.D., 1965, pp. 303-304 and others.

Timur and some of the Timurids in their taxation policy strove to follow established and fixed norms and even to stop sometimes abuses by the officials. Although it did not create quite favourable conditions for development of the peasants' economy, in any case it did save them from complete bankruptcy.

It is necessary to note that the rural and urban population was itself quite active and in different forms offered resistance to the rulers, particularly in cases of abuses of power, illegal extortions by officials and above-norm taxation. Sometimes the masses of peasants shifted to other regions forcing rulers to abolish the above-norm taxation in order to retain their tax payers. The sources also mention open uprisings of the popular masses driven to destitution during the internecine wars due to additional taxation. For example, when Sultan Hussain conquered Khorasan and appointed two new officials as *diwans*, they imposed on the population additional taxes. In Herat people rose in an angry protest and forced Sultan Hussain to abolish the tax and sack the officials.

Other cases of abolition of taxes for different periods are also known. For example, taxes for maintenance of the army were abolished several times because the population had been driven to extreme poverty not so much because of the taxes but on account of abuse of power by the officials who collected to their advantage a considerable amount over and above the norms. For restoration of the paying capacity of the population, the Timurids resorted to temporary sacrifices and also tried to fight the autocracy of the officials. In the sources cases not only of sacking but also of their execution are mentioned.

Thus the tax burden was very heavy. Its heaviness during different periods of time was aggravated by internecine wars which were followed either by multiple collection of the same taxes and tributes by introduction of new ones. The constant evil was the abuses by officials who collected taxes above the norm for their own benefit. Nevertheless, on the whole, a relatively favourable situation was the regulation of norms for the main taxes and tributes and the attempts of Timur and some Timurids to follow these norms and to punish the officials in the interest of the treasury.

It can be assumed that the fund of *mylk* lands (state lands) had sharply decreased by the 15th century. It were these unstable and small estates which were to go bankrupt in the first place during the Mongol rule. Yet in the 15th century these really privileged sections of the peasantry existed. The amount of the main tax-rent which they paid to the state was less. But, of course, they were not exempt from other taxes. The mass of peasants as before consisted of tenant-share-croppers and peasant-communards.

If for the Mongol period we stated *a priori* about the existence of peasant communes and their stable remnants, for the 15th century there is concrete though scant material. E.A. Davidovich on the basis of data of 16th century established that one of the indirect signs of the existence of communes and their definite remnants is the indivisiveness of the lands of the village (*karia*). In these cases during the sale and purchase or the transfer to the *wakf* individual plots were not allotted from the common massive (and hence not the boundaries of the plot but the common boundaries of the entire massive were described), that is why actually the matter was about the share of the rent-tax from the whole land massive of the village.³¹ Similar examples of existence of indivisible plots can be found in the 15th century as well. For example, according to a *wakf* grant of 1470 A.D. a village (*karia* Jaiz) was gifted but from the grant were excluded three "*tasu*" (i.e. 1/24 "*tanaba*" of unallotted land).³² According to a *wakf* grant of the period of Timur there was granted in *wakf* one-third of undivided village-Rifan and one-fourth of undivided village-Nita-of the Samarkand region. Here also in contradistinction to it there is a mention about half of a divided village and the boundaries of this individual half are described separately. With the communal landowning are linked the references of another type of the same *wakf* grant of the Timur period: grape orchard which is at the disposal of the village, the land of a "definite society".³³

The concrete content and essence of the village community (commune) landowning at this stage is not known so far. It is clear

31. Davidovich E.A., 1961a, p. 37.

32. Chekhovich O.D., 1965a, p. 346.

33. *Ibid.* 1951, pp. 62, 65-66.

however that all the members had common rights on the land of the commune, that is why during sale-purchase, transfer to *wakf*, etc. allotment of plots was impossible. Even the rights over the grape orchards were common. The cultivation was undoubtedly done separately but it is not known whether reallocation of the plots between the members of the commune existed. It is also beyond doubt that the lands belonged to the commune "perpetually". It was undoubtedly to the advantage of the peasant-communard before the peasant-tenant. The other fact is also interesting: judging by the given examples, the peasant-communard could pay the rent not only to the state but also to the *wakf* organization and private persons. In other words the commune landowning at this time was on different categories of land: on the state, *wakf* and feudal *mylk* lands. Hence one should not conclude as if the peasants-communards were only on the state land.

The tenants constituted a large group of peasantry. In *wakf* grants it is underlined that the period of lease should not exceed three years. The necessity to change the leased out plots of land put the tenants in a less favourable condition.

The Categories of Feudal Property in Land. "Suiural" in the 15th Century

According to law property in land and water was divided in the same categories as before. Above, the peasant *mylks* have been already mentioned. During the 15th century undoubtedly the fund of *wakf* lands had increased particularly in comparison with the preceding period. Timur and the Timurids undertook large construction activities. Many cities of Central Asia were adorned by numerous constructions of different kinds: *madrassas*, mosques, mausoleums, etc. All these constructions were supported by *wakf* property. The written sources narrate about other large donations.³⁴

Wakf property was administered by the *mutawallis*. Very often the creators of *wakf* appointed themselves and their successors as

34. Numerous data of this kind have been collected by N. Mahmudov (1966, pp. 56-59).

mutawallis. The general supervision over the administration of *wakfs* was done by a special institution headed by the *Sadr*. From the *wakf* property the office of the *Sadr* received a special tax which was used to maintain the apparatus for administering the *wakfs*. Only by special order of the ruler the *wakf* property could be divested of the control of the *Sadr's* office and freed from this tax. In all other cases the *Sadr* and his officials tried to derive more and more from the *wakf* revenue; on this ground there often followed conflicts. Some *Sadrs* were sacked for the abuses.

So far as rest of the taxes and tributes are concerned, from *wakf* lands they were taken into the treasury excluding those cases when the ruler exempted them by special acts. During the Timurids (particularly during the period of Timur) such kinds of exemptions were made quite widely.

The fund of state lands was the largest one. But only a part of the tax-rent went to the treasury of the central power because during the Timurids the institution of feudal grants was highly developed. *Suiurgal* of the 15th century was not some kind of single, moulded in one form, grants. At this time, as before, existed various types of grants and all of them were called *suiurgals*. One of the most developed forms of *suiurgals* was specific lands of the members of the dynasty. In the large cities and provinces granted to them, they were actually independent. The high dignitaries also sometimes attained a similar status to whom the cities and regions were granted. Practically all these *suiurgals* were often hereditary. Sometimes they were also called *suiurgals* "in perpetuity". However it is necessary to underline that inheritance was not something to be taken as granted, as inalienable component of such kinds of large *suiurgals*. When transfer of these *suiurgals* in inheritance took place, the central power formalised these by special acts. Other limitations also took place. Sometimes the granted owner had to remit to the treasury of the central power a part of the revenues of his region. The central power in some cases also limited the judicial-administrative immunity by sending to the granted owners its officials. Sometimes these *suiurgals* were taken away completely or reduced in size.

At the same time the opposite cases were also reported, when the granted owners actually became independent rulers and central power was not always in a position to oppose this.

Thus even the biggest *suiurgals* of the 15th century were not something of a homogenous category.

There existed simultaneously smaller *suiurgals* with more limited rights for the granted owners. During the Timurids, particularly under Timur, *suiurgals* were granted to military commanders who distinguished themselves during military actions. These *suiurgals* were of different sizes from big regions to a single village. Sometimes clergymen also received *suiurgals*. In general this term included any grant upto valuable gifts.

The fund of *mylk* lands was very large. It belonged to the temporal and religious feudals. The sources name a number of persons whose lands were very large in size and who were multiplying. As an example, the lands of Khoja Akhrar can be mentioned.³⁵ He owned 1300 plots of land in various regions of Central Asia. It is implied that these plots were not tiny ones but large tracts of land "*ushr*" (that is, the rent tax of the size of 0.1 of the crop from the plots in only one Samarkand region which Khoja Akhrar paid to the state was equal to 80 thousand Samarkand *mans*, that is, 1600 tons of grain (*man* was equal to 20 kilograms).³⁶ This meant that the main part of the rent which was received by Khoja Akhrar himself from these lands, according to a minimum estimate (when the entire main part of the land rent equated 0.3 portion of the crop) from the same lands was no less than 0.2 portion of the crop, i.e., 3200 tons of grain.

When the managers of Khoja Akhrar once assembled for report, it turned out that most of them collected 30-40 thousand *batmans* of grain and none less than 10 thousand, leaving alone the cash revenue from the gardens and orchards. It is not clear what kind of *batmans* were meant in this case. If it were the Samarkand

35. Nabiev R.N., p. 35 onwards.

36. Davidovich E.A., 1970, p. 90. Other researchers estimate the *man* in the 15th century as equal to 8 *puds* (one pud = 16 kilograms) which is not correct.

ones (equal to 20 kg.) every manager collected from 200 to 800 tons of grain.

From the *mylk* lands the state received a part of the rent. However, in the 15th century exemption of *mylk* lands of temporal and religious feudals from the grants to the central power was widely practised. Such exemptions were formalized by *tarkhan* grants. The big feudals after becoming *tarkhans* gained some more rights: They and their successors were exempted from punishment for nine offences; they had free access to the ruler. But other types of exemption from state taxes were also called *tarkhans*. The *tarkhan* status could sometime be granted also to the inhabitants of the whole city or region.

We do not know how intensively in the 15th century the process of the formation of full property in land was going on, but it is clear that it took place. The full property in land were such *mylk* lands from which the state was not to receive anything and the entire rent belonged to the feudal, not on the basis of *tarkhan* grants but as right to full property. In the sources of the later period such category of lands is called *mylk-i-khurr-i-khalis*. The main path of formation and augmentation of this category of land was the division of *mylk* lands between the private owners and state proportionately to their parts of land. For example, the state got from the *mylk* lands two-thirds of rent and private persons one-third; during division the state received two-thirds of the land (and this part turned into the category of state lands), and the owner received one-third of the land (and this part became his full property). There is a document from the end of 15th century³⁷ about such divisions of the canals, but for the canal which became full property of the feudal is used an absolutely precise term of "*mutlak*", i.e., full property.

Trade

The most outstanding noteworthy phenomenon of the 15th century was high level of development of the crafts and domestic monetary trade. As a comparative analysis of numismatic materials of 9th-

37. Mahmudov N., pp. 52-53.

18th centuries, shows, it is in the 15th century, particularly in the late quarter of the century and in the first quarter of 16th century, that trade and monetary relations reached their maximum development. It is during this time that the total volume of production of goods as well as relative weight of the production of goods for mass consumption sharply increased. During this period in the money-commodity relations a wider strata of urban society and partly of the rural population was involved (particularly of the agricultural localities and adjoining to them large cities). Never before in the earlier and during the later period upto the merger of Central Asia with Russia, the commodity production, monetary trade and the level of involvement of the mass strata of the population in money-commodity relations had not reached such a level.³⁸

With these facts is directly linked the narrow specialization of crafts which provided the growth of productivity of labour and the possibility of considerable increase in the volume of commodity production.³⁹

Monetary trade in the sphere of mass consumption was provided by copper coins. It is worth noting that Ulug Bek in 1428 A.D. carried out a monetary reform which aimed at creation of more favourable conditions for development of small retail trade in goods of prime necessity in which the common citizens and rural inhabitants were most of all interested.

The content of the reform is as follows⁴⁰: in 1428 A.D. all the copper coins which were issued earlier and were of low weight were banned. They could be exchanged during a certain period for the new and heavier in weight coins the minting of which began in 1428 A.D. simultaneously in many cities—in Bukhara and Samarkand, in Tashkent and Shahruhie, in Andijan, Karshi and Termez. After the completion of exchange of the old coins for the new ones, all the mints except in Bukhara were closed—from now on the mint of copper coins was centralised in Bukhara. Bukhara for many years (upto the assassination of Ulug Bek and even

38. Davidovich E.A., 1965, pp. 83-91.

39. Belenitskii A.M., 1940, p. 44.

40. Davidovich E.A., 1965a, pp. 274-299.

thereafter) issued copper coins of a completely uniform size. Even the date on them was not changed; irrespective of the year in which a coin was issued, it always carried the year in which Ulug Bek ordered his reform. The Bukharan reformed coins ensured the trade of the entire state of the Central Asian Timurids on an equal basis. By these coins commodities in any corner of Central Asia could be purchased. Their unchangeable form ensured them unhindered circulation and excluded all kinds of misuses and changes. Such an organization of monetary trade is for feudalism a very rare and untypical phenomenon. This reform was in accordance with the objective demands of the internal trade. A wide production of commodities for the common consumer required regularization of circulation of just the copper coins which was done by the reform of Ulug Bek. The carrying out of this reform and its success in turn created favourable conditions for further development of trade in the sphere of small commodity turnover.

It is interesting that later, especially in the last decade of the 15th century, the all-state circulation of copper coins was completely destroyed. Independent rulers issued their own coins and made various changes and machinations in their forms in order to gain higher revenues. Particularly shameless operations with copper coins were carried out by Khusro Shah, the ruler of the big principality with centre in Gissar (in Tajikistan). This came to an end with the crisis of monetary circulation, and in 1501 A.D. Khusro Shah was compelled to carry out reforms. Instead of variegated and fully discredited production, the Gissar region received uniform coins the circulation of which Khusro Shah dared not change. All the mints in the small cities were closed. From now on, copper coins were minted only in Gissar, Termez and Kunduz, and the production of these three mints had an equal circulation in the entire principality. For convenience of trade the coins of three denominations were issued—single-dinars (the copper coins were called thus in this period), double-dinars, and small coins.⁴¹

41. Davidovich E.A., 1965b, pp. 44-48.

The international trade also attained a high level of development in the 15th century. Timur and Timurids made efforts towards development and expansion of trade links between the countries. As mentioned earlier, they sent letters even to the French and British kings offering to give every possible patronage to their merchants. In the sources of that period there is a lot of information about the missions sent to other countries. From different corners envoys came to Herat, the capital of the Timurids. In the bazars of Central Asia and Khorasan one could purchase different foreign commodities, but local goods also went abroad in a large quantity. The international trade was a stimulus for development of certain kinds of crafts and expansion of the volume of production. It also activated internal trade.

City and Crafts

The maximum development of money-commodity relations in the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century is not an isolated phenomenon. It shows more vividly the place which this period of time occupies in the life of medieval cities of Central Asia and testifies to the big progress which took place during this period. Unfortunately comprehensive research on what the city in the 15th century was like in socio-economic aspect has not yet been done. We have at our disposal only small material devoted to individual questions. However, scattered facts as well as observations allow to conclude that all contradictions of socio-economic life of the city as an anti-feudal link in the system of feudalism got aggravated just in the 15th-16th century.

From one side the activization of the middle and lower strata of the city is noticeable. Researchers have noted that the forms of exploitation of the craftsmen acceptable under the Mongols which reduced them to the status of serfs and slaves, lost their meaning in the 15th century though not completely. The main figure in the crafts became a free craftsman, and the main form of organization of the craftsmen was the craft workshop. A.M. Belenitskii justly observes that workshop organizations in the 15th century became strong and their importance increased. One of the outward indications of the considerable importance of the workshops in the

life of the cities was their organized participation in festivals held by Timur and the Timurids. Every workshop in these festivals participated separately.⁴²

Even more concrete and convincing material is given by the research on ideology of the period which is reflected in the literary and cultural life as a whole. A.N. Boldyrev examined the vast material and convincingly showed that the second half of the 15th century (particularly the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century) is characterized by undoubted expansion of the social base of cultural life and creative work. The middle urban strata—city craftsmen and merchants, state officials and middle clergy—were becoming not only consumers but creators of cultural values as well. In the anthologies of that period, in the memoirs *Nasifi* are mentioned numerous poets among the craftsmen, merchants and small employees: only few of them were professional poets. For most of them literature was a passion. To it they devoted all their talent and leisure. Now the poets, musicians, men of wit collected not only in the houses of the aristocracy; the literary discussions, recitation of poems, the impromptu poetic competitions took place also in the book shops and workshops of the craftsmen and simply on the square or the bazar. This was the case in Herat and Samarkand and to some extent in many other cities of the state of the Timurids.

No less important is the fact that the ideology of the city, and of the urban middle strata was reflected also in literature itself. There emerged even a special “craftsmen” poetry the main subject of which was the household of the craft circles and the language was enriched by craft lexicon. The ideology of the city, its outlook opposed to feudalism found a reflection in the creative works of outstanding representatives of progressive literature of 15th-16th century.⁴³

From the other side, the city of 15th-16th century remained feudal. In it were dominating purely feudal forms of exploitation of crafts and trade. This side of the socio-economic life of the city has been studied better in the material relating to the 16th

42. Belenitskii A.M., 1948, p. 189 onwards.

43. Boldyrev A.N., 1957, p. 253 onwards.

century,⁴⁴ but the known facts about 15th century give a complete analogy so that the characteristics could be common for the two centuries. In the city we find the same categories of landed property as in the rural localities. The main part of the land was either state owned or it belonged to the clerical and the temporal feudals (including the members of the dynasty). The fund of the lands belonging in the city to the direct producer was perhaps as small as in the rural locality and it meant that in the case of the direct producer in the city, his workshop or residential house was situated not on his own but on the state, *wakf* or on the feudal (*mylk*) land, he paid the rent for this land to its owner. In this sense between the citizen and the peasant there was little difference.

The sources show that not only lands but also numerous trade buildings belonged to the feudals. The process of concentration of the craft-trade buildings and even residential houses was going on very intensively and it meant that the craftsmen and small traders became not only lease holders of the land but often of the workshop and residential house which increased their dependence on the feudal. The burden of such dependence was aggravated by the fact that in the city there were very different combinations of land and constructions. For example, the direct producer could take on lease the *wakf* shop situated on the *mylk* land and vice versa.

The other purely feudal forms of exploitation were also not extinct: the craft environment was not homogenous, besides the free craftsmen, there existed groups which were at various levels of "extra economic" dependence. A section of the craftsmen brought by Timur from other countries was actually in conditions of slavery. More substantial is the data in regard to forms of dependence of some groups of weapon masters. According to one order, a group of such craftsmen was granted to the head of the weapons chamber who was to supervise their work; the state officials did not have the right to intervene in his affairs and to collect taxes from these craftsmen. The other form of dependence was related to some groups of craftsmen serving the court. These

44. Ivanov P.P., 1954, pp. 42-43; Davidovich E.A., 1961a, pp. 40-42.

craftsmen had to be united in workshops. The head of the workshop was appointed by the government. He organized the work, looked after the quality, but the production went not to the market but directly to the state department. It is essential to note that the head even of those free workshop organizations which worked for the market were not elected but appointed by the government.⁴⁵

One more essential indicator of the feudal character of the city lay in that fact that the urban population paid to the state some of those taxes which were imposed on the rural population (e.g., per capita or per household). The urban population was not exempted even from the labour rent.

Besides this, there existed, of course, the direct taxes on trade and crafts. In the 15th century such main tax inherited from the Mongols was called *tamga*. The size of *tamga* according to some indirect data was very large. But it is worthwhile noting that the feudals were against this tax. Particularly the religious feudals actively fought against *tamga* under the guise that it was against the *Sheriat* norms. But actually the cause of their opposition was purely economic: this tax encroached upon their interests, the interests of the class of feudals. The purely feudal modes of exploitation of the city crafts and trade from which they got profits suited the feudals and other forms of exploitation which brought them losses were not to their liking.

In the cities of Central Asia there was no authentic self-rule. The cities were ruled by the vice-regents appointed by central power of big rulers of principalities. The cities had always been the objects of feudal grants. Thus the main contradiction of the socio-economic life of the cities which got aggravated especially in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first quarter of the 16th century was as follows: from one side there was a progressive development of the cities, the growth of productivity of labour in crafts, extremely increased the volume of commodity production, high relative weight of production of mass consumption goods, maximum involvement in trade-monetary relations of urban and

45. Belinitiskii A.M., 1940, pp. 45-46.

partly rural population, activization of the middle strata of the cities and the new phenomena in the sphere of culture brought to life by all this. From the other side, the development of the cities was hindered by such factors as very high level of exploitation of the toiling population of the city and predominance of the feudal forms of exploitation; concentration in the hands of the same feudals of both the rural and urban property; concentration of trade-crafts buildings in the hands of the same religious temporal feudals who were the owners of land in the city and the village, i.e., merger (with few exceptions) of trade and moneylending ruling clique with the landed aristocracy; the feudal forms of rule over the city.

All these moments demand deeper concrete historical research. Historians have paid considerably less attention to the Central Asian city and its socio-economic problems than to agrarian relations. The works devoted to separate questions of urban life appear after years and even decades. A study of the peculiarities of Central Asian feudalism, its causes and essence of its stagnating character is one of the most important problems.

3. Culture

Construction and Architecture

From 15th century until our days a considerable number of monuments of architecture have come down to us but it is merely a small part of what had existed. Timur and the Timurids had launched grandiose constructions. Big feudals also emulated them. Particularly extensive was the construction in the two capitals—Herat and Samarkand. But many other cities during the 15th century were adorned by beautiful constructions for civil and religious purposes.⁴⁶ From the numerous palaces of the 15th

46. To the architecture of the Timurid period are devoted numerous researches and publications. The following general and compendium works may be particularly noted: Bulatov M.S., 1969; Denike B.A., 1939; Zasyarkin B.N. 1928; 1948; and 1961; *The History of Samarkand* Tom 1, 1969; Masson M.E., 1948; 1950b; 1957a; Pugachenkova G.A., 1951; 1957; 1958b; 1965; 1968; Pugachenkova G.A., Rempel L.I., 1958; Rempel L.I., 1961. For the territory of Tajikistan see: Weimarn B.V., 1947.

century in Central Asia have been preserved a part of the portal Ak-Sarai in Shahrissabz, which was built by Timur.⁴⁷ However enthusiastic comments of the contemporaries and their detailed descriptions give sufficient idea about the art of the architects, decorators and the gardeners about their imagination and inventiveness of Timur, his successors and courtiers, created suburban parks with palaces. Parks divided into alleys were distinguished by the well-conceived and picturesque selection of trees and flowers; they also included the reservoirs of different configurations, channels with running water and flower-beds; the palace was set deep in the park richly decorated with all the different ornaments available at that time.⁴⁸

About the monuments of civil architecture is known mainly from the written sources. The huge scale of this construction is noteworthy. In Samarkand, for example, as mentioned above, on the order of Timur one of the streets was turned into a continuous well-organized bazar. Although the work on this project was still not complete, Claviho delightfully described this street bazar covered with dome and windows for light. Something similar was done by Shah Rukh in Herat. Two intersecting streets there were completely built up with two-storeyed trade buildings and covered with domes and windows for light and at the place of crossing of these two streets of bazars was built the Chorsu — a domed building in which trading premises were located.⁴⁹

The *madrassas*, mosques and mausoleums of that time which have been preserved to our days give a full idea about the engineering, construction planning and decorative development of the architecture of the 15th century. The most important development was initially the improvement of the old system of domed ceiling and afterwards the wide use of a new system. The essence of the new system was that the dome now took support not on the walls of the building but on a combination of intersecting arcs which allowed to considerably shorten its diameter, and this

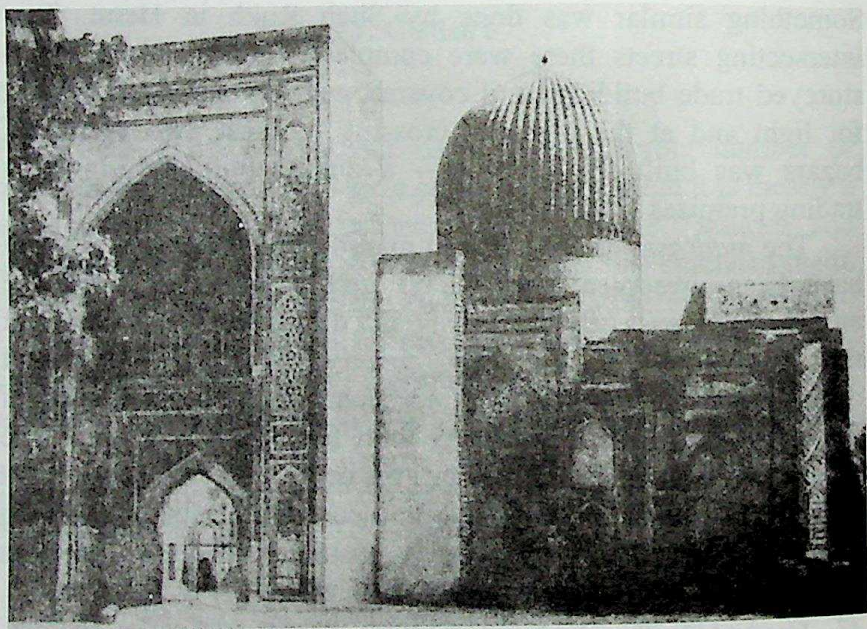
47. Masson M.E., Pugachenkova G.A., 1953.

48. Pugachenkova G.A., 1951.

49. Belenitskii A.M., 1946, pp. 181-183.

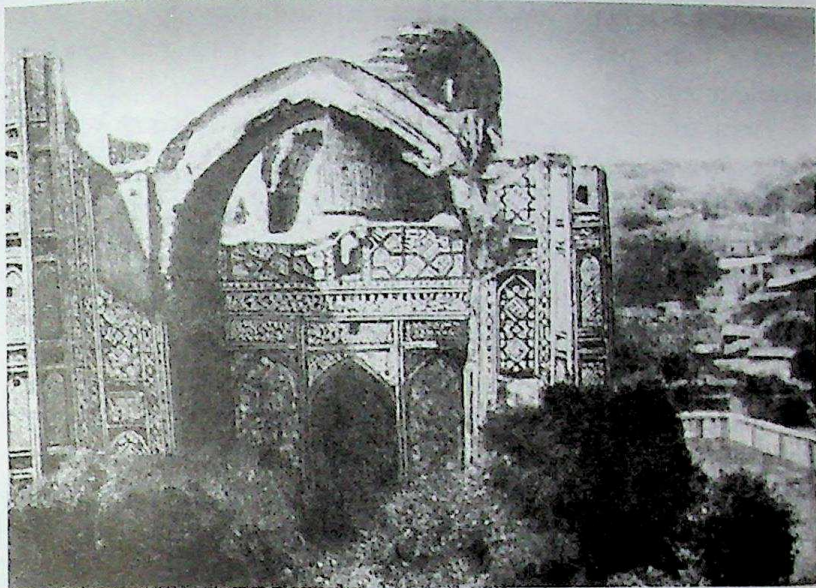
meant that the dome ceilings could be used for more spacious buildings. In this system dome could be easily constructed not only above a square but also above a rectangular structure.

Longing for luxury and splendour found its vivid reflection in the decorative designing of the monument. The means of decoration were of diverse types and quite perfect. They absorbed the developments of the past and enriched them by new methods. In the 15th century composite mosaic which had attained inimitable perfection and which was quite labour-intensive and expensive, found a wide use. The mosaic of 15th century was distinguished by delicacy of the floral and geometrical design, noble choice of colour (among which the combination of blue, dark blue and white predominated), extraordinary depth of dark blue glaze in the twinkling background of which the limitless fantasy of the artist delicately and in a tasteful manner drew the laces of design. For finishing of the inner surface technique called *kundal* was used which combined gold with some colour often dark blue. The proportion of gold plating and that of colour was different.



Gur-i-Amir mausoleum in Samarkand (1404 A.D.)

Sometimes the background was gold plated and a slight relief drawing was done by colour paint, sometimes vice versa. In any case the effect was astounding, and it is not accidental that specialists compared this form of decoration with gold embroidered brocade.



Bibi Khanum Mosque in Samarkand (1399-1404)

Marble was also widely used: polished and covered with carved drawings and inscriptions and delicately painted with gold. It is not possible to describe in a brief sketch all decorative modes of this century. It is sufficient to underline that the decorative ideas were not stagnant. For the end of 14th and beginning of 15th century the trend to decorate the entire wall with painting is characteristic. Later the texture of brick-laying was used in order to make spacious designs and inscriptions in its background were made from small glazed bricks.⁵⁰

The trend towards grandeur is best of all demonstrated in the Bibi Khanum mosque built in Samarkand in 1399-1404 A.D. Once

50. In more details they are characterised by B.A. Denike (1939) and L.I. Rempel (1961).

upon a time the monumental portal entrance led to the vast courtyard surrounded by galleries, the domes of which were resting on 400 marble columns. In the depth of the courtyard stood high the main building of the mosque: portal entrance, high-domed building and above it—the second decorative dome over a shapely drum. Now a days not much has been left from this mosque but its romantic ruins give us sufficient idea about its past grandeur and splendour.⁵¹

From an architectural point of view the mausoleums of 15th century are diverse and interesting. Small but richly decorated mausoleums of Shah-i-Zinda (Shirin-bika-aka and Tuman-aka), mausoleums of Ruhabad, Kutbi-chahar-duhum, and lastly Gur Emir are monuments from the Timurid period. Particularly beautiful is Gur Emir (1403-1404) in which Timur himself and his successors are buried⁵². Its form is simple and clear. The octahedral body, shapely drum and crimped dome is covered with blue glazed small bricks. The internal decoration of a square hall with four deep recesses impresses with its solemn austerity. Marble, green onyx and gold plating, a general muffled tone only increases a feeling of calmness, silence and seclusion from the outer world.

One of the best monuments of Ulug Bek is the *madrassa* on the Samarkand Registan.⁵³ Rectangular inner courtyard with four portals was encompassed by rows of residential room on the two storeys and in the corners there are square domed buildings; at the four outer corners there are four slender towers, on the main façade there is a monumental portal. Now-a-days there are no domes left above the *darskhana* (the rooms for lectures), there is no more the tower and the second storey of the rooms. But even in its present appearance the *madrassa* produces an unforgettable impression through its beautiful composition, ideal proportions, rich diverse and calm decoration.

51. About Bibi Khanum see: Masson M.E. (1929); Ratiya Sh. E. 1950; Pugachenkova G.A.; (1953).

52. Bulatova V.A., 1965; Nemtseva N.B., Shvaab 1968.

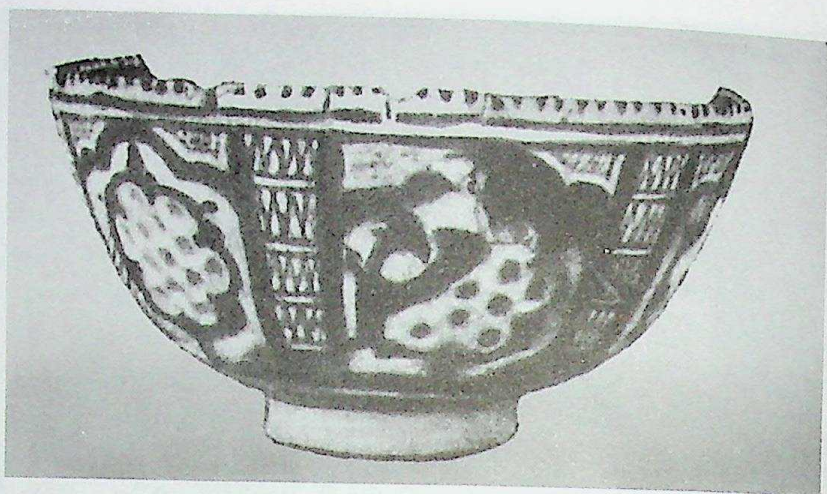
53. Pugachenkova G.A., 1962.



Shah-I-Zinda Mausoleums in Samarkand



Bronze Vessel from the Mosque of Khoja Ahmad Yassemi



Central Asian Ceramic from the Timurid Period



**Dome Ensemble of Mausoleum of Shadi-Mulk-aka in the
Shah-i-Zinda Complex in Samarkand**

In the 15th century there developed a type of mausoleum as a complex multi-room construction. One of the best mausoleums of this type is *Ishrat-khana* near Samarkand. The central hall with deep recesses has a crosslike plan. On the flanks are symmetrically situated other constructions. From one side there is a mosque, from the other—three-room *miyan-serai*. The complex has additional two-storeyed service rooms. New construction system of domed ceilings found in this monument its brilliant and diverse use. The new decorative technique *kundal* has been used with completeness and virtuosity. The extraordinary richness of the inner decoration is in complete contrast with the simplicity of the outer decorative work. The latter enables a better perception of the monument as a whole: in the outer view one is attracted not by details but by a common compositional solution, thanks to which this monumental construction looks very light and slender.⁵⁴

A completely unique monument is the Samarkand observatory of Ulug Bek at the foothill of Chupan-Ata.⁵⁵ Of this only a small hill and a heap of construction debris has been left. But the archaeologists have tried to find out the plan of the ground floor. It has been found that the building was circular and more than 30 metres high. It was richly decorated by mosaic, majolica and marble tiles. From written sources it is also known that the observatory had three storeys. The remnants of the main instrument of the observatory, a double sextant, has been preserved. It was meant to observe the movement of the sun, moon and perhaps other planets also. The one end of the sextant began at the depth of eleven metres in the trench dug out in the rock. The other end, which has not been preserved, rose according to an estimate, to a height of thirty metres. The sextant consisted of two parallel arcs equal to one-sixth of the circle with a radius of more than forty metres. The arcs had an exact direction which corresponded with meridian. They were covered with polished marble tiles. Through two small holes the rays of the luminary

54. Masson M.E., 1929a; Mosque of Gur-i- Emir, 1905; Pletnev I.E., 1968; Semenov A.A., 1948, 1949; Shishkin V.A., 1946.

55. Weimarn B., 1946; Masson M.E., 1929b, 1950c.

threw spots of light on the two arcs of the sextant on which the degrees, minutes and seconds were marked.⁵⁶

Among the Herat constructions of 15th century particularly impressive is the Musallya complex consisting of a mosque madrasa and a mausoleum. Now from this complex very little has been preserved. About its past grandeur testify its slender minarets consisting of three parts and the interesting mausoleum of Gauharshad which was a part of the madrasa occupying one of its corner place.⁵⁷

Monumental Painting and Miniature

According to written sources monumental constructions, particularly palaces of Timur and the Timurids were often decorated with paintings drawn on the walls. Their themes were quite variegated: battles and siege of the cities, feasts, ceremonial receptions and scenes just from common life. This was especially encouraged by Timur. On the walls of his palaces the entire saga of his military campaigns and entertainments was painted.

A contemporary account states that necessary components of these complex themes were portraits of Timur, his sons and grandsons, courtiers and even queens of the Timurid house. Only a common and vague idea of these monumental paintings can be had from the fragments preserved in some Samarkand mausoleums of Shah-i-Zinda. These are merely scenes; a small rivulet, trees, bushes, flowers, flying herons in the floral background.⁵⁸

The 15th century gifted to mankind splendid manuscripts in which everything, beginning from paper and binding upto

56. Masson M.E. Pugachenkova G.A. and others, 1958.

57. About the monuments in Chupan-Ata see: Gilyamov Ya. G., 1948.

58. Denike B.P., 1939, pp. 200-208; Rempel L.I., 1961, pp. 318-325, 332-337; Borodina I.F., 1965.

About excavation of the observatory see: Vyatkin V.L., 1912; Masson, M.E., 1941; Shishkin V.A., 1953, 1965; Guliamov Ia.G. and Buryakov Yu. F., 1968. The reconstruction of the building which has not been preserved is subject of debate: Nilsen V.A., 1953; Pugachenkova G.A., 1969.

calligraphic writing and miniature drawings, are examples of matchless art.⁵⁹ Excellent calligraphers and miniature painters lived and created their works in many cities of the vast Timurid state. But it was Herat which was the main centre of development of these arts. No other city could boast of such a collection of celebrities and talents. The brother of Ulug Bek, Baisunkar was famous in the first half of 15th century, Herat as an expert, connoisseur and patron of art. As mentioned above, he founded *Kitabhana* which was not only a literary but also an authentic creative workshop; best of the miniature painters, calligraphers, binders worked there (calligraphers alone numbered forty). In Herat besides this there existed a court library—the workshop of



**Portrait of Timur Miniature from 15th C.
(perhaps a copy of a much older original)**

59. Pugachenkova G.A., 1963, pp. 147-157.

Shah Rukh where beautiful examples of calligraphy and miniatures were created. In the second half of the century, Ali Sher Novai and Sultan-Hussain Baikara who were also connoisseurs of this kind of art patronised talents attracting them to the Court.

The peculiarity of the Eastern miniature, whether it decorated the book or was drawn on a separate paper, is absence of volume and treatment of light and shade and that of perspective and depth. Objects situated at different distance from the viewer were simply placed vertically: near ones were below and distant ones above, the size of the distant objects did not decrease proportionately. However, all these peculiarities of miniature are considered not as deficient but just specifics of this kind of painting work. The merit of the miniature is the finesse of drawing, saturation of colouring and the emotional tuning which is attained by the colour and compositional structure of the whole drawing.

In the written sources the names of miniature painters of the 15th century are mentioned who were considered during that period matchless artists. However, the study of the works by most of them is extremely difficult as they did not as a rule sign their miniatures.

In the *Kitabkhana* of Baisunkar the *Shahnama* of Firdausi was edited and rewritten. In the manuscript of *Shahnama* of 1429/1430 A.D. there are twenty miniatures drawn by several painters. It is thought that these are the best examples of the early stage of development of the Timurid school of miniature. The finesse even refinement of the drawing, the brightness of the colours and the originality of the compositional structures on canonised topics distinguish these miniatures.

The Herat school reached the zenith of its development in the second half of the 15th century in the works of several painters among whom the first name is that of Bekhzod (born between 1450-1460 A.D., died in 1536/1537 A.D.).

A distinguished painter of that time was Miraknakkash whose works have been inadequately studied. Only two of his signed miniatures which paid attention to a talented orphan boy have been preserved. Bekhzod was also noted by Ali Sher Novai who

patronised him and opened up for him the possibility to be among the circle of the highly cultured and talented people of their times whose opinions played a positive role in the development of the aesthetic ideas of Bekhzod and in the development of his creativity.

The miniatures of the early stage of the creative work of Bekhzod are characterised by bright contrast colours, dynamic compositions, multiplicity of figures, and packed space. Such are his miniatures for the *Zafar-nama* of Yezdi. At the centre of the artist's attention is the dynamics of the battle and pathos of labour. The battle of two armies in a valley is completely unlike the solution of an anological subject in the manuscript of *Shahnama* of 1429/1430 A.D. Here there are no two equal armies, but storm of the battle. Every personage is individualistic, the encounters of the warriors are unexpected, dynamic and variegated. A miniature of completely different content is the construction of Juma mosque in Samarkand. Here also everything is full of tense movements. The carpenters and the stone engravers are working non-stop; the lazy is thrashed by the overseer; a carriage laden with marble blocks is shown approaching. There are many human figures—all of them are in different positions and poses, some are swift, some are static, but always tense.

By the end of the 15th century in the works of Bekhzod there is more of contemplation and lyricism, he paints the landscape more often. These moods are embodied in the miniatures for the poem of Dehelwi—*Laila and Majnu*. The theme of youthful and ill-fated love has found touching and poetic manifestation in the creative work of Bekhzod.

Bekhzod was also an excellent portrait painter. Sometimes in the portraits of his contemporaries could be seen the features of historical personages. For examples in one of the miniatures, Alexander of Macedonia has the features of Sultan-Hussain Baikara. Miniatures depicting the court life are known, showing the same Sultan-Hussain or one of his courtiers. But the best of his works in this genre are the separate portraits of Sultan-Hussain and Mohd. Shaibani Khan.



**Ironsmith Kava Leading the Rebels Miniature from the
End of 15th C. Samarkand**

Bekhzod is creator of an entire trend in this art. He had many disciples. Among his contemporaries Kasim Ali who according to some data in the sources was also a disciple of the great painter is famous. The contemporaries thought that their work could become distinguished only through skillful painters. The miniatures which were undoubtedly done by him have not been preserved.

The Herat school of the end of 15th and beginning of the 16th century mainly used little changed compositional solutions (in comparison with the first half of the century). Along with this, in its miniatures, according to art critics, realistic tendencies had grown. The trend towards individualisation and even psychologism of the personages had increased and the landscape

became complicated. The technical skills of the painter reached surprisingly high perfection. The talented works of the miniature painters of the 15th century are one of the summits of the artistic culture of the East.

Science and Literature at the end of 14-15th Centuries

One of the famous scientists of the period of Timur who participated many times in the scientific debates in his court was Saad ad-Din Masud ibn Omar Taftazani (1332-1389 A.D.). Till the end of his life he was engaged in teaching in Gijuwan, Jama, Khwarezm, Turkistan, Samarkand, Herat and Serakhs, and had written many scientific works on grammar, theosophy, rhetorics which became a part of text books of that time during his life time itself.

An outstanding historian of his times was Ahmad ibn Mohammad ibn Arabshah (1392-1450 A.D.). He was born in Damascus but lived in Samarkand since he was eight-year old. His main work was the book about the Timur period *Ajaib al-maqduf fi navaib Timur* (*Miracles in predestination in the events of Timur's life*), in which bold and sharply negative for that time characteristics of Timur are given.

Another historian of that time Nizam ad-Din Shami had completed in 1404 A.D. his work under the title *Zafar-name-i-Timuri* (*The book of Timur's conquests*). Sharaf ad-Din Yezdi (died in 1454 A.D.) compiled in 1424-25 A.D. a book also devoted to the times of Timur—*Zafar-nama* (Book of conquests). Among historians it is necessary to mention Khafizi Abru (died in 1430 A.D.); Abdr Razzak Samarkandi (1413-1482 A.D.); Mohammad ibn Khandshah Ben Mahmud known as Mirkhond (1433-1498 A.D.); Gias ad-Din Mohammad under the pseudonym Khondemir (around 1475-76-1539-40) and others.

In the 14th century, fiction developed further. In this period were working Shams ad-Din Mohammad Hafiz Shirazi (died in 1389 A.D.), a recognised classic of Persian and Tajik poetry and Kamal Khojendi (died around 1400 A.D.). In their books progressive ideas of that time were considerably reflected.

Hafiz lost his father in his early childhood. His mother not being able to give education to her son gave him away for bringing up to another family. But Hafiz soon left this family and became an apprentice to a craftsman. For sometime he studied in a *madrasa* and then leading life as a reciter of Koran (“Hafiz”—literally means “knowing Koran by heart”) Hafiz continuously improved his knowledge. Soon he became famous as a poet.

During his lifetime itself his poems became widespread among popular masses and a part of them were included in folklore. Even now the poems of Hafiz are popular in Tajikistan, Iran and Afghanistan where he is read in the original. The role of Hafiz in the history of Tajik-Persian literature is extremely great. He led to perfection the genres of lyrics imparting new content to them. The *ghazals* of Hafiz along with their motives of love, beauty and philosophical ideas are characterized also by the motives of protest against social injustice. In medieval conditions Hafiz grew up to the struggle for dignity of human life. Sometimes out of caution he keeps something back. Hafiz who did not desire to reconcile with the gloomy conditions of life prefers to write under the guise of a dare-devil make-merry person. However, the main motive of the poetry of Hafiz is not at all the licentious joy, not beauty for the sake of beauty, not the contemplative mystics of Sufism but the protest against social injustice, yearning for the better and faith in it.

Characteristic for the lyrics of Hafiz are passion, loftiness of impulses, criticism of hypocrisy and bigotry. He is famous as a great lyricist in both the East as well as the West. Here is one of the *ghazals* of Hafiz full of bold allusions and allegories:

No I am not a cynic, mukhtasib⁶⁰
The Lord sees it
I could not desist from wine and woman
I would be a hypocrite if I open the prayer book
When breeze flows into my rosy flower garden
I would turn down the gift of His Majesty⁶¹

60. follower of morality.

61. the ruler

As dinar doled out to a beggar
Although my attire is poor and wretched.
My old cloak is dearer to me than the tinsel of the Sultan
What the Heaven will give me—unsteady gamble?⁶²
Although a destitute I burn with my own fire!
And let me go blind if in my eyeball appears
The reflection of Divinity
Love is the pearl at the bottom
I dived deeply
Where shall I emerge?
My ocean is merely a wine cellar.
When my beloved sends me into fire—
I will not even think about Kavsar.⁶³
(So sweet is my fate!)
Me who is now in perfect bliss
Shall I be tempted by the coming heaven promised by the
Prophet?
I don't trust much in the gifts of the seventh Heaven—
I believe only in my wine
Rise with froth till grave my wine goblet!⁶⁴

Keeping in mind the mystic content of his poems, Hafiz was called during his life time "*Lisan al-gaib*" i.e., "the language of the inner-most". After his death some representatives of the clergy tried to interpret his poems as purely "divinely mystical"⁶⁵: his characters, they asserted, should be understood allegorically; "yer" (darling) is a form of God, etc.

The great poet Goethe unravelled the allegories of Hafiz as expression of protest directed against hypocrisy and religious bigotry. He devoted to Hafiz a separate book of poems "*Hafiznama*" in his "western-eastern diwan". Hafiz, in his opinion, used this literary form to express the ideas of humanism.⁶⁶

62. God

63. *Kavsar* means heavenly source.

64. "Anthology" pp. 402-403.

65. Perhaps here played its role the fact that in some poems of Hafiz the contents of separate *ayats* of the Koran have been poetically processed.

66. Braginskii I., 1936, pp. 220-253.

Kamal Khojundi spent his childhood in Khojent, received education in Samarkand and subsequently moved to Tabriz where he lived at the court of the local ruler. When the Golden Horde Khan Tokhtamysh captured Tabriz, Kamal was imprisoned and taken away to the capital of the Golden Horde—Sarai—where he remained imprisoned for a long time. Afterwards the poet returned to Tabriz where he died around 1400 A.D.

Kamal Khojendi is one of the outstanding masters of verse. His *ghazals* are characterised by their musicality and melodiousness. In their motives some of them are close to the *ghazals* of Hafiz. The *ghazal* given in translation below excellently portrays the nostalgia of the poet about his motherland and merges with the entire cycle of Tajik folklyric—*garibi* (the songs on the foreign land):

*This noisy street seems to me deserted
I am chained to myself without any reason
Wandering and dreaming about my beloved motherland
O my country, my motherland!
Remember your lost son.
If you haven't seen the foreign sky above you
You can, my friend, never understand my sorrow
Alien language...the unfamiliar chirping of bird...
Here rains are alien and so is mud on shoes.
We couldn't feel for the suffering of the alien,
Because any native valley was like home.
I am alien. I wander and dream about
Motherland, beloved motherland.
O, foreign land, foreign land, foreign land,
foreign land, foreign land!⁶⁷*

Nasir Bukharai (died in 1378 A.D.) is close to Hafiz and Kamal Khojendi in content and genre of his works. He was their contemporary.

In the poems of the outstanding poets of 14th century, which are predominantly lyrical, the mood of popular protest was manifested in its original form. In this lies the particular merit of their lyrics, the cause of its popularity among the vast masses.

67. "Anthology", p. 387.

Science and literature reached its zenith during the period of Ulug Bek. We have already mentioned above the many-sided creative activity of Ulug Bek. He could collect in Samarkand the prime of astronomical and mathematical thought of that period. In 1428 A.D. Ulug Bek completed the construction of the Beg observatory with perfected instruments.

This observatory played a big role in the development of astronomy. In it for the first time was determined the position of some stars. On the basis of these works Ulug Bek composed in 1437 A.D. astronomical tables which have a world-wide scientific significance. It may be noted that these tables were composed in Tajik language and only later were translated into Arabic language. They give the position of more than a thousand stars which can be seen by naked eye and coordination of all cities of the Muslim East. The astronomical tables of Ulug Bek served as a textbook for the study of position of the stars in the East as well as the West for a long time. Their importance also lies in the fact that they are a significant source for the study of the state of astronomical knowledge in the middle of 15th century.

Ulug Bek also attached great importance to the development of literature and art.

At this time Samarkand and Herat became large cultural centres of the East. Herat which started gaining more and more importance since the rule of Shahrukh in the second half of 15th century, during the rule of Sultan Hussain Baikara (1469-1506 A.D.) turned into a large cultural and scientific centre. Here started collecting the scientists and artists from all corners of Maverannahr and Iran. In this period medicine, law, ethics, and also literature and art were developing.

A leading representative of literature of this period is the famous poet and scholar—Nur ad-Din Abdr Rehman Jami (1414-1492 A.D.). Jami was born in the village of Jam near Nisapur. He studied in Herat where he continued his study in literature and science even afterwards. He visited Samarkand many times.

From the *qasid* of an autobiographical character which Jami wrote in 1487 A.D. it can be concluded that he knew poetry, grammar, logic, Greek and Eastern philosophy, natural science, mathematics and astronomy excellently. His *Bahoristan* ("Spring

garden”) is considered one of the best samples of the prose of 15th century. In his works Jami masterly worked out all the art genres and influenced the further development of Tajik literature. In a number of his works Jami occupies a leading place in the entire history of Tajik medieval literature. The author of the Anthology *Mirat al-Khaial* (“The Mirror of Thought”) Shirahan Ludi informs that “Jami wrote 99 books which are recognised by people of knowledge in Iran, Turan and India and nobody could even raise finger of objection on this or that of them.”

The main poetical work of Jami is his *Haft avrang* (“Seven Thrones” i.e., the great bear constellation) which consists of seven large poems of the type of “Five” by Nizami (the poetical answers of Nizami are the three poems among the seven: *Tukhafat at-akhrar*, *Leili and Majnun* and *Hirad nama-i-Iskandari*). Many works of Jami manifest the ideas of humanism and contain a critique of autocracy of the ruling elite. However, the works of Jami are contradictory and along with progressive ideas for that time in his books are reflected religious and philosophical ideas of Sufism.

In one of the poems included in *Haft avrang* in *Hiradnama-i-Iskandari* (“the Book of Wisdom by Alexander of Macedonia”) Jami while developing the thoughts of Farabi and Nizami narrates the social utopia—he describes the fairy-tale country where all people are equal where there are no rich and poor and there is no oppression and want.⁶⁸

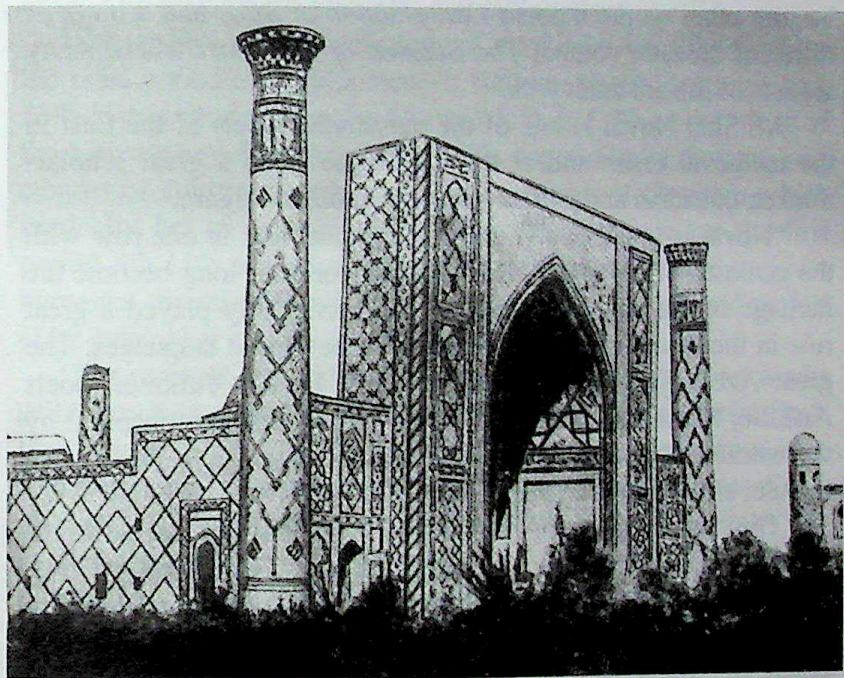
The Timurid period (the time of formation of literature in old Uzbek language) is characterised by more and more strengthening of the process of mutual influence of Uzbek and Tajik literature in the following centuries. It is to this period that the creative works of the genius of Uzbek literature Mir Ali Sher Novai (1441-1501) belong. Novai was born in 1441 A.D. in a highly educated family. Among his close friends were poets, musicians and calligraphers. From childhood he was attracted to poetry and already at the age of 15, known as a poet who wrote poems in Persian and old Uzbek language.

68. See Aini, 1948; Bertels E., 1965a; Jami, 1965. The edition of the books of Jami and their translation: Jami, 1964; Abdurahmoni Chomi, 1964.

After the ascension of Timurid Hussain Baikara to the throne of Herat (1469 A.D.) Novai became a state figure. He received the title of Amir and occupied very high government posts. Almost whole of his life was spent in Herat.

In the making of the genius of Novai a big role was played by his friendship with the great Jami whose disciple he considered himself. "...The meeting of Novai and Jami", writes E. Bertels, "indeed had as its result a friendship that lasted till the death of Jami. The roots of this friendship are not only in the individual traits of character of these two outstanding men—it was strengthened by their common world outlook, the full convergence of their views on the objectives and tasks of literature."⁶⁹

In 1483-1485 A.D. Ali Sher Novai created *Hamsa* (Five), i.e., the cycle of five poems. The idea of such a cycle appeared in



Madrasah of Ulugbek 1420 A.D. Samarkand

69. Bertels E., 1965a, p. 124.

connection with “the Five” of the great poet of 12th century—Nizami—imitating whom many poets including Jami created their cycles.

In his cycle Novai devoted many chapters to criticism of violence and oppression of the people, avarice and fortune-making.

When Jami died in 1493 Novai and his friends wore mourning dresses during the whole year. To perpetuate the memory of his friend, Novai wrote the book *The Five of the Perturbed* and translated into old Uzbek language one of the books of Jami.

The friendship of Ali Sher Novai and Abdr Rehman Jami is a vivid symbol of the friendship between the two peoples—the Uzbeks and the Tajiks—the beginning of which goes back to antiquity.

Towards the end of his life (he died in 1501) Novai wrote besides other works a poem *Conversation of Birds* and a book of different didactic content *The Beloved of the Heart* where many aspects of life are dealt with.

Ali Sher Novai is one of the outstanding poets of the East in the medieval times and at the same time he is a great scholar-thinker, musician and painter and also a political figure.

“Novai is great. His versatile talent puts him in one row with the geniuses of the world. His creative work has long become the heritage of the entire mankind. It has particularly played a great role in the development of literature in the Turkic languages. The great Azerbaijani poet of 16th century Fuzuli, Turkmen poets Andalib, Mukhtumkuli, Molla Nepes and others were inspired by the works of Novai and emulated him in many ways. Novai was popular among the Turkic poets.

The importance of Novai for the Uzbek literature is determined by the fact that he brought it on the world stage. Novai by his work opened for the Uzbek people the vast possibility to develop their culture in their native language. The power of the talent of Novai lies in the fact that his works have outlived centuries and entered into the memory of the people and continue to inspire them till today.”⁷⁰

70. Kor-Ogly Kh. R., 1968, p. 63. The works of Ali Sher Novai are published from Tashkent in 15 volumes. “Ali Sher Novai, Asarlar. 15 tomlik.

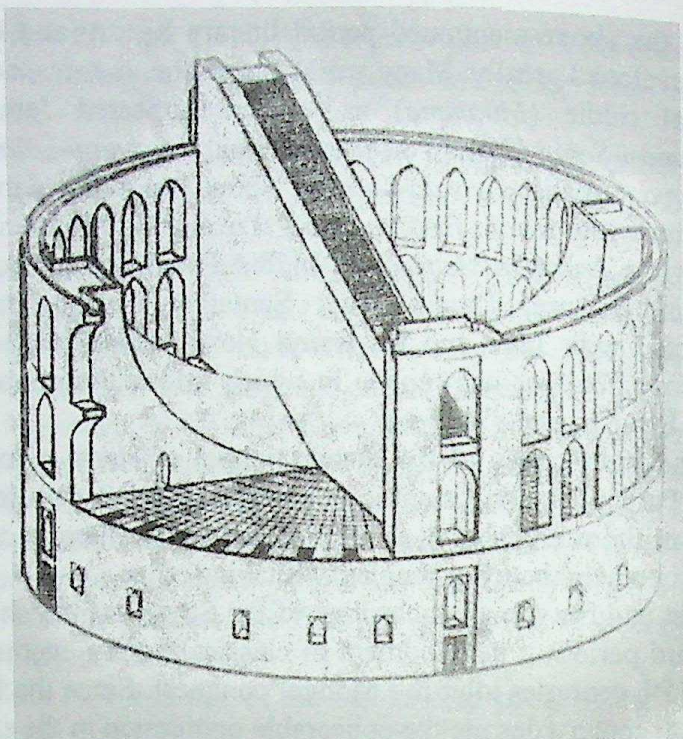
In the above-mentioned period literary history and criticism also developed greatly. Many works on rhyme, metrics, acoustics, poetical riddle (*Muamma*) and others appeared. Jami wrote *Muamma-i-Sagir* ("Small *Muamma*") and *Muamma-i-Kadir*, *Big Muamma*, treatise, *risala-i-kafiya* about rhyme); Kamaladdin Hussaini wrote *Risala fil-Muamma* ("Treatise on *Muamma*"); and Saifi wrote *Aruz (On Metrics)*. In 1458 A.D. one of the courtiers of Hussain Baikara, Daulat Shah Samarkandi who frequently interacted with Jami and his friend Novai composed a famous anthology *Tazkirat ash-shoara* in which information about more than a hundred poets is given.

The significance of the literary school of Herat is extremely great. Particularly important is to emphasize once again that since this time the strengthening of the closeness of the literary creativity of the two neighbouring peoples was taking place.

Let us give some conclusions of the Soviet scholarship about the third period of development of classical poetry encompassing 13th-15th centuries after the Mongol conquest. Since the fifties of the 13th century despite the unbearable oppression in the surviving centres of culture there began a new upsurge of literature which gradually led to the variety of genres characteristic for the first period 9th-11th centuries and to the further rise of the opposite humanist direction which was formed during the second period (11th-beginning of 13th centuries).

The renewal of tradition resulted in the need for general works of literary history and criticism (like *Tazkira* Aufi and Daulat Shah and others). Eulogism got its use in historiographical prose of a highly rhetorical character glorifying Timur and his successors and also in the revived *qasida* (Khusrau Dehelvi and others). The second revival acquires the method of creative competition—poetical answers (*nazira*). Such is the *Hamsa* by Khusrau Dehelvi, "Seven" of Jami, "Five" of Novai in old Uzbek language. In Sufi

Tashkent, 1963-1968); there are several translations into Russian language. About the life and work of Novai see: Bertels E., 1965; Zokhidov P., 1961 and others. For a detailed bibliography see: Svidicha E.D., 1968.



Observatory of Ulugbek about 1428 A.D. (after reconstruction)

poetry this leads to the “sufiised” verses—Sufi in form and quite different in content.

The highest achievement of poetry was the *ghazals* of Hafiz and Kamal. Jami was the poet who completed this period. He developed all the genres, synthesized all literary experience while working out the artistic concept of perfect man. However, in 15th century in poetry there appeared the elements of feeble imitation. More attention is given to the form at the expense of the content.

The development of fiction could not but influence other related fields of art. Music and dance, particularly in 15th century, became widespread. In this period there appeared not only performing musicians but also excellent composers. Serious theoretical works on music were written. *Risala-i-musiqi* (“Treatise on Music”) by Abdr-Rehman Jami is considered one of the most important sources for study of music in the 15th century.

During this period several books on ethics were written. Jalal ad-Din Dawani (1426-1502 A.D.) wrote in 1467 a book *Akhlāq-i Jalali* ("The Ethics of Jalal"). In 1494 A.D. Hussain Vaiz Kashifi (died in 1504 A.D.) compiled and devoted to prince Muhsin a book *Akhlaq-i-Muhsini* ("The Ethics of the Benefactor") on questions of ethics and upbringing. He also improved anew the famous book *Kalila and Dimna*. This new version was titled by him *Anwari Sohaili* ("The Glitter of Kanopus").

In the field of historiography also there were considerable achievements. In this period the famous historical work of Hafiz-i Abru (died in 1430 A.D.) *Zubdat at-Tawarih* ("The Cream of History") where the narration of the events is given upto 1427 A.D. was written. His successor was Abdr-Razzak Samarkandi (died in 1482 A.D.) who wrote the book *Matla as Saadain wa Majma al-Bahrain* ("The place of rise of two happy constellations and the place of union of the two seas"). This book contains the description of historical events during the period from the birth of Hulaguid Abu Said till Abu Said Timurid that is from 1304 to 1470 A.D.

Muin ad-Din Mohammad Isfizari (around 1446-1447-1498 A.D.) in 1493 A.D. compiled a book *Rauzat al-Zannat fi ausaf-i madinat al-Hirat* ("The heavenly garden according to description of the Herat city"), in which he narrated not only the history of the Herat city but of all the regions of the state of Sultan Hussain.

The most important historical work written in the Timurid period is the book *Rauzat as-Safa* ("The Garden of Purity"). The author of the book Mohammad ibn Handshah (1433-1498 A.D.) who hailed from Balkh and is known under the name of Mirkhond was one of the active participants of the cultural life of Herat: *Rauzat as-safa* consists of seven books and describes the history of the countries of Islam, particularly of Iran and Central Asia; in a more detailed manner it describes the Timurid period till the end of the reign of Sultan Hussain Baikara. The seventh and last part of the book remained unfinished and was completed by the grandson of the author Khondimir.

It may be emphasised again that the cultural achievements of this time donot give any reason for idealising the situation in the

state of Sultan Hussain. As mentioned above Sultan Hussain himself and his officials mercilessly plundered the toiling people. The heavy burden of building works in Herat was borne by the toiling people. In many works of the writers of that period we come across complaints of violence against the people and their persecution.

PART II

Tajik People During the Later Period of Feudalism in Central Asia

Chapter 6

Life of Tajik People in the State of Sheibanids (16th Century)

1. Political History

Conquest of the State of Timurids, Internal Policy of Sheibani Khan

At the threshold of the two centuries the nomadic Uzbeks led by Mohammed Sheibani Khan conquered central Mavernahr and sometime later the remaining parts of the Timurid state also. The name of the new dynasty (and state) "Sheibanids" is derived from the name of their founder. Sheibani Khan himself belonged to the house of Chengiz Khan. His grandfather Abu-l-Khair Khan in the first half of 15th century established quite a powerful nomadic state. The Turkic-speaking tribes and clans united by him were of different origin. They roamed over vast steppe territories from the lower parts of Syr Daria upto Siberia. The union established by Abu-l-Khair did not have economic pre-requisites and was held together by force of arms that is why it was not strong and collapsed after his death.¹ Sheibani Khan tried to repeat the experiment of his grandfather but could not succeed. The struggle with other Chengizids who also pretended to leadership in the steppe or to full independence went on with occasional success. Stray victories brought a handsome booty but did not provide serious political preponderance.

1. For details see: Semenov A.A., 1954b; Ahmedov B.A., 1965a.

During this struggle Sheibani Khan more than once used the patronage of the Timurids. After one of his military failures he lived in Bukhara for two years where according to sources he pursued his studies zealously.

The most serious enemies of the Timurids on the north were Mogols whose centre was in Tashkent. The Mogols many times conducted raids even on the regions of central Maverannah, took away cattle and plundered population. The Timurids tried to use Sheibani Khan against the Mogols but Sheibani Khan proved to be a bad ally: pursuing his own interests he many times changed his orientation siding sometimes with the Timurids and sometimes with the Mogols and conducted predatory raids on both. At last having firmly seized such fortified cities as Otrar, Sairam and Yasy, Sheibani Khan invited his kinsmen, strengthened the alliance, entered into union with the Mogols and in 1499 A.D. started the conquest of Maverannah. First he besieged the capital of the Central Asian Timurids — Samarkand and when the Bukharan vice-regent moved with his army towards Samarkand, Sheibani Khan abandoned the siege to meet him. He destroyed the Bukharan troops and proceeded towards weakened Bukhara. Three-day siege was enough to make the clergy and aristocracy give up the city to him.

Even at this critical moment, in the face of real danger the aristocracy of Samarkand and the Timurid princes were completely engrossed in intrigues and mutual animosity. Some of them backed Sultan Ali, head of the Central Asian branch of the Timurids, others invited his kin Babur to Samarkand, promising to give away the city to him. When Sheibani Khan besieged Samarkand these discords grew further. Some of the influential representatives of the clergy induced a defeatist mood. Suspecting betrayal everywhere, Sultan Ali decided to overtake them all and with a small escort proceeded to the headquarter of Sheibani Khan. Having come to know about it the aristocracy of Samarkand appeared in submission before Sheibani Khan with a large number of presents. Thus in 1500 A.D. Samarkand passed into his hands without any fighting.

The first, fast and easy successes, did not prove to be very enduring. A part of the aristocracy of Bukhara and Samarkand was

in favour of restoration of the power of the Timurids. Although Sheibani Khan succeeded in exposing the first conspiracies and brutally punished the culprits and even mere suspects, nevertheless his opponents had an edge. Now the main rival of Sheibani Khan became a young Timurid prince, the future founder of the state of the Great Mogol in India, Babur. The headquarter of Sheibani Khan was located in the vicinity of Samarkand. The aristocracy of the city having secretly corresponded with Babur opened before him the gates of the capital and declared him the ruler. Soon in some other cities and fortifications also the Timurid loyalists got an upper hand. However in the open fight on the bank of Zerafshan in April 1501 A.D. Babur was defeated and locked himself in Samarkand. He describes in detail in his memoirs the long siege of Samarkand by Sheibani Khan.² According to him it is obvious that the people, ordinary citizens and craftsmen initially took a very active part in the defence of the native town. They made courageous sorties and repulsed the attacks by Sheibani Khan. But citizens defended not the dynastic interests of Babur as he naively thought. The residents of Samarkand already had a large and bitter experience: betrayals and conspiracies by the aristocracy, the change of power in the city led to plunder, strife and hunger. But in this case the interests of Babur and the citizens coincided.

But it was impossible to hold on to the city. The citizens did not have arms. A severe hunger engulfed the city. "It was time for harvest. But nobody brought new bread. The siege continued and people suffered great losses; there came a time when the poor people started eating the flesh of dogs and donkeys. As fodder for horses became scarce, people began to feed them with tree leaves."³

Babur appealed to various rulers for help but in vain. He precisely emphasized the lack of understanding by Timurids of their common interests: "We hoped for help and support from the neighbouring rulers but they had their own plans."⁴ He was

2. Babur, 1958, p. 106 onwards.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

4. *Ibid.*

particularly astonished at the lack of farsightedness by Sultan Hussain, the head of the Khorasan Timurids, who did not help him and even hobnobbed with Sheibani Khan.

The citizens, warriors and even Babur's close associates fled from the starving city. At last Babur himself fled. The capital Samarkand for the second time and completely fell into the hands of Sheibani Khan. It was in 1501 A.D.

More active resistance to Sheibani Khan was offered by the citizens of Karakul. In the spring of 1501 in Karakul a rebellion broke out which had a clearly class character. At the helm of power in the city was put a representative of the people, perhaps the leader of this rebellion. His name is not known and sources of this period call him "a beggar" and "stupid fellow".

Sheibani Khan himself advanced against Karakul with a large force. The city was seized and the head of the rebellion was killed. But after Sheibani Khan's departure the city again rose in revolt. However, at this stage the initiative was taken over by the feudals who decided to use this revolt to promote the interests of the Timurids. They appealed for help to the neighbouring Timurid rulers. Sheibani Khan had to send a large force to Karakul for the second time. The fighting was fierce. The poor people of the city showed miracles of courage and firmness. At last Sheibani Khan captured the town and carried a real massacre. On the order of Sheibani Khan in Bukhara to scare the people a pyramid was made from the severed heads of the Karakul citizens.⁵

For some time Sheibani Khan was busy securing his rear before he launched upon his conquest of the southern Timurid lands. Here also his successes were helped by the same circumstances. The rulers of various regions could not unite or did not want to unite. Mutual distrust, intrigues, conspiracies and direct betrayals paved the ground for the conquest. Sheibani Khan skillfully used the situation promising all sorts of amnesty to some, and threatening others. He was demonstrating by his raids and plunder of the population the weakness and impotence of the Timurids and thus strengthened the defeatist mentality. Khusrau Shah, the ruler of the large region with centre in Gissar, was once

5. Mukminova R.G., 1950, pp. 13-14.

so powerful, authoritarian and rich that the Timurid princes sought his help and patronage. At this time he showed a total lack of understanding of the situation: instead of uniting with the Timurids and at least helping them for which he was approached many times, he feared their claims, played clever and found himself completely isolated. At the first information about the advance of troops of Sheibani Khan towards Gissar, he fled like a coward. The southern Tajikistan, a part of the northern Afghanistan and southern Uzbekistan, his former dominions, easily fell into Sheibani Khan's hands. Afterwards in 1505 A.D. Khwarezm was seized.

Herat, the other capital of the Timurids was now left. In the face of a real danger Sultan Hussain advanced with his main forces. But old and sick, he expired during a military campaign. Among the nobility discords started immediately. As a result at once two sons of Sultan Hussain were installed on the throne behind whom stood two groups of more influential aristocrats. Sheibani Khan himself could not have thought of a better situation for himself. Babur thus commented upon this situation: "It was something unusual. One never heard that two kings could rule jointly."⁶

While they were collecting the troops and while their Amirs quarreled, being unable to come to a single decision, Sheibani Khan looted Balkh and soon energetically advanced towards Herat. He destroyed badly trained Timurid troops.⁷

Many of the Amirs and the high officials fled directly from the battlefied and others from the city. The two rulers also fled, one to the west and the other to the east. The higher clergy and aristocracy sent a letter to Sheibani Khan declaring their submission. It is interesting that this letter was drafted by Khondemir, the famous historian and author of the largest historical chronicle *Habib as-Siyar*. Only the citizens offered resistance. They killed about 300 Uzbeks who were engaged in looting on the outskirts of Herat.

6. Babur, 1958, p. 212.

7. For details of the seizure of Herat and the subsequent events see: Boldyrev A.N., 1957, p. 59 onwards.

By that time terms of surrender of Herat were dictated before the arriving delegation: the common people and craftsman had to pay a large contribution and from the aristocracy money gifts were demanded. The confiscation comprised mainly the property of the deposed dynasty and the elite related to it.

During a short period the remaining cities and regions upto Astrabad were conquered. In all large cities of the former Timurid empire in Samarkand and Bukhara, in Merv, Sarrakhs, Balkh and Herat, in Meshed, Nissapur, Tus, Nimruz and Astrabad silver coins in the name of the new conqueror were minted. Sheibani Khan gave big political importance to this act. It was manifestation of its kind of the ascendance on the throne.

Sheibani Khan, who intended to conquer the state of the Timurids and unite under his power the large territory, knew well that military success alone was not enough for it. Mercilessly annihilating and persecuting the representatives of the dynasty of the Timurids, he right from the beginning tried to win over to his side the influential temporal and ecclesiastical feudals. This tactics perhaps brought him greater success and victory than weapons. Not only he but also those close to him understood that merely a change of power was taking place and all the existing norms of life remained unchanged. In this connection the story of the poet and memoir writer Vasifi is interesting who was an eyewitness of the conquest of Herat by Sheibani Khan. One Uzbek Amir mistaking him and his companions for peasants explained them that only a change of one set of landlords by another has taken place and the new ones want the quickest restoration of economy because now the rights over lands and peasants and the duties to "take care" of peasants have been transferred to them.⁸

The entire domestic policy of Sheibani Khan after the conquest of the Timurid state served the interests of the ruling class of feudals in which the aristocracy of the Uzbek nomadic tribes too entered. Even his outwardly positive measures reflected the interests of the ruling class. Sheibani Khan himself and his kins, influential Amirs of the tribes and even the nearest security

8. Boldyrev A.N., 1957, p. 66.

circles were extremely enriched through confiscation of the property of the Timurids, their followers among the temporal and even ecclesiastical feudals and also of the persons who were merely suspected of conspiring against the Sheibanids. Sheibani Khan divided the entire state into principalities under the rule of his kinsmen and the influential Amirs. The economic side of these grants was that revenues were fully or partially coming not in the treasury of Sheibani Khan but to the rulers of the cities and principalities. The conquerors understood that the looted riches should not remain as dead capital. They started buying lands, city buildings and workshops of the craftsmen. They also realised that under conditions of frequent change the most reliable form of property was that which was registered officially in the form of purchase. That is why often the property forcibly seized was registered as a purchased one. It is interesting to note that sometimes forcibly seized lands had to be returned.⁹

Confiscations and purchases rapidly concentrated in the hands of the Sheibanids and the Uzbek aristocracy large areas of land, a large number of city buildings, grinding mills and other profitable objects. One example is enough: already in the twenties of the 16th century the wife of the son of Sheibani Khan could give in *wakf* to a madrasa more than forty workshops, trade centre, eight water mills, workshop for processing paper, stores, yards, about 150 plots of land, six villages, etc.¹⁰

Thus the Sheibanids and the aristocracy of Uzbek nomadic tribes had become the largest feudal landowners who were also interested in urban crafts and trade. Their economic interests were no different from the interests of the hereditary ecclesiastical and temporal feudals of Central Asia who preserved during the Sheibanids their hereditary land and urban wealth accumulated in the preceding period.

The intention of Sheibani Khan to expand his class basis, to attract to his side the ruling class of the state conquered by him is testified by his monetary reform¹¹ decreed in 1507 A.D.

9. Mukminova, R.G., 1966, p. 26.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

11. Davidovich E.A., 1954a, p. 85 onwards.

The crafts, trade and money circulation were one of the main items of state revenue and the revenue of owners of state principalities. The last Timurids used these items extensively and shamelessly resulting in the fact that state of money circulation did not correspond with the interests of trade, hampering its normal development which in turn influenced the state of development of crafts. This painfully hit the interests of not only the craftsmen and small traders but also of the entire ruling class because in the feudal society of Central Asia the feudal was also a trader, he owned not only lands in the village and the city but also different trading and craft shops, he took part in the internal city trade, he was the main figure in the inter-regional and international trade.¹²

The reform of Sheibani Khan established an equal monetary circulation in the entire state and freed it from different changes. It determined the weight, size and the form of the silver and copper coins and the correlation between them. These coins had an equal value in every city and every region. The owners of principalities could not obstruct their equal circulation, to lower or raise their course in their favour.

Such a reform naturally received a large political resonance, favourably marking out the measures of the new conqueror from the financial policy of the last Timurids. It was not accidental that the decree of this reform was issued immediately after the fall of Herat — the second capital of the Timurids. Alongside other more personal measures of Sheibani Khan directed towards normalisation of life disrupted by military actions, the reform of 1507 A.D. was meant to show to all strata of the ruling class that from the change of dynasty they did not lose but only won that Sheibani Khan understood and protected their interests.

The Struggle between Sheibani Khan and Babur

During several years there had been no military actions on the large territory of Sheibani Khan which undoubtedly helped in normalising the economic life. But in 1510 A.D. on the north-east and south-west almost simultaneously a serious damage was

12. Ivanov P.P., 1954, pp. 42-43; Davidovich E.A., 1961a, pp. 40-42.

inflicted on the new state. Shortly before this the Kazakhs of steppe who were defeated by Sheibani Khan united with Mogols and defeated Sheibani Khan on Syr Daria. The Persian Shah Ismail I was triumphantly marching from the west to the east towards Heart, seizing one city after another.

Ismail I hailed from a Sufi family from the city of Ardebil. Among the Sheikhs of this family became particularly famous through his "saintliness", Sefi ad-Din Ishakh, after whose name his successors and the entire dervish order was called Sefevieye. After they entered the political arena their dynasty received the name of Sefevids in history. In the 15th century the main support of the Sefevids were the Turkic nomadic tribes who lived on the territory of Iranian Azerbaijan. They were called Kyzyl-bash in the Azerbaijani language which meant "red-headed" because the nomadic warriors wore on their head a turban with twelve purple stripes in the honour of twelve Shiite Imams. They owed allegiance to the Sefavid Sheikhs both in political and religious terms. The Sefavid Sheikhs in the third quarter of the 15th century conducted plundering raids first on the non-Muslim countries afterwards entering into conflict with some Muslim rulers. But the real success was achieved only by Ismail I. Having seized Tebriz, he made it his capital and in 1501 A.D. he assumed the title of Shahenshah of Iran. For a short period, taking advantage of internecine wars between different dynasties Kyzyl bashi headed by Ismail I conquered the entire western Iran.

The two states of the Shebanids and the Sefevids became neighbours. But there was no peace between them. The political ideas were coloured with religious shades: Sheibani Khan in his state struggled against Shiism while Ismail and "Kyzylbashi" were militant Shiites.

Sheibani Khan retreated with his troops towards Merv and sent his envoys for help to the lands of his kinsmen. Shah Ismail laid siege to Merv but afterwards removing the siege simulated a retreat. Sheibani Khan, this time made a mistake unforgiveable for an experienced commander: he underestimated his rival. Without waiting for reinforcement he started chasing the "retreating" troops. Sheibani Khan was encircled, crushed and killed. From his skull Ismail made a gold-plated wine bowl.

Shah Ismail I used against the Sheibanids not only his sword but diplomacy as well, he encouraged, in all possible, ways the surviving Timurids to fight for the lands of their fathers and forefathers. While the influential members of the Shebanid dynasty were engaged in discussion of the problems of inheritance of the throne, and could not come to an agreed decision, the Timurids captured Fargana and Babur who had by now established himself in Kabul quickly proceeded through Kunduz towards Gissar. A decisive battle near Pul-i-Sangin ("stone bridge") through Vakhsh (where presently the Nurek power house is situated) ended in victory of Babur. The central Maverannahr fell to him without struggle as the Shebanid sultans preferred to leave Samarkand, Bukhara, Karshi and other cities.

The easy victory elated Babur and made him careless. According to sources he and persons close to him and also common soldiers were engrossed in feasting and revelry. This revelry cost him a lot of financial resources in search of which Babur stopped at nothing. One of the examples of his irrational behaviour is his machinations with the mint of coins. He violated the norms for monetary circulation established by Sheibani Khan. This harmed all strata of society interested in trade. The large army of Babur literally ate up the population but Babur having in mind his bitter experience in the past did not decide to reduce the strength of his army. The population was particularly enraged over the existence of the troops of Kyzylbashis whom Shah Ismail I sent to help Babur. The Shiite inclinations of Babur and his revelries were intensely disliked by the entire people.

The vast masses of Bukhara and Samarkand met with joy the victory of Babur and his arrival. But hardly half a year passed that he lost this wide support and could depend only on his troops consisting of different calibres. He was badly let down by the latter. In the winter of 1512 A.D. young and highly energetic Ubeidallah Sultan (nephew of Sheibani Khan) failing to woo the other Sheibanids to start a new war to gain Maverannahr, himself with a small army advanced towards Bukhara. To the amazement

of his contemporaries he won a decisive victory over the troops of Babur which were many times larger than his army.¹³

Babur fled to Gissar. The last attempt to win back Maverannahr was made by him in the autumn of the same year when he received help from large troops of Kyzylbashis. Even a simple march of such an army through the territory of Maverannahr was nothing short of a calamity. At Gizvan the Sheibanids completely defeated the Kyzylbashis.¹⁴

The barbaric annihilation of the population of Karshi evoked the anger of historians even with Sefevid orientation. Here rumours spread that the Kyzylbashis were intending to fully liquidate the population of Samarkand. All this helped unite the local people around the Sheibanids, rouse sympathies towards them and led to a new wave of antipathy towards Babur.

Central Asia in the First Half of the 16th Century

Soon the Sheibanids won back all the regions of Central Asia: Tashkent, Fargana, Gissar, etc. However, Central Asia was in ruins. The intrusion of Kyzylbashis, outrages and plunder by Mogols, the mass annihilation of population had a deadly influence over the lives of the people and the whole economy. The cold and snowy winter of 1512/1513 A.D. came as a new calamity against this backdrop. The process of food stuffs increased enormously and at some places there was a famine. The historical resources contain a detailed account of the hard conditions particularly in the Gissar and Samarkand regions.

The Mogols looted and ruined the entire Gissar region, took away from the population bread and cattle. An awful famine began from which many people perished.¹⁵ The situation in Samarkand city and region was none better. Wasifi, poet and memoir writer, who lived in Samarkand at that time, thus described the cold and hungry winter of 1512/1513 A.D. "In this year high prices and

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13. The Persian sources describe this stage of struggle between the Sheibanids and Babur somewhat differently, but preference should be given to the contemporaries and eyewitnesses (Semenov A.A., 1954g, pp. 127-131).
 14. Details of these campaigns are given differently in different sources (Semenov A.A., 1954g, pp. 131-138; Boldyrev A.N., 1957, pp. 115-121).
 15. Semenov A.A., 1954g, p. 139.

famine in Samarkand reached an extent that the people did not see another bread than the round bread of the moon and sun on the table of the sky and the hungry poor could gather the wheat ears, galaxies only in their dreams at night". Wasifi wrote an excellent revealing poem "Hunger" in which he described the sufferings and miseries of the people with deep sympathy and poured scorn on the selfishness and apathy of the satisfied rich. There are such lines about the rich — "If one were to ask for bread from some richman, they would break his teeth with a blow."

Shebanid ruler himself represented the image of a greedy crow.

*"O wind when you blow through the steppe
Convey my greetings and gift to the crow
And tell him: "Why do you dry your bread
It will grow musty! O happy bird
Spare some to be loaned to the poor!"*¹⁶

In other cities of Central Asia the situation was hardly better. They also became the arena of battles and internecine wars and witnessed many changes of power. These cities were many times subjected to siege and cowardly deserted by their masters.

The state of the finances extraordinarily promoted price rise. Babur himself made big changes in monetary sphere with the aim of extracting higher revenues. The Shebanids instead of liquidating the consequences of misuse of Babur continued his practice. As a result of this the silver coins vanished from the market and only exclusively copper coins circulated in the trade. But their purchasing power fell sharply. As the prices in copper coins grew higher and higher the traders accepted copper more and more reluctantly.

While characterising the economy of this period, it is necessary to take into account the fact that the nomadic Uzbek tribes occupied the best lands. They squeezed the local nomads and partly the settled population as well. According to some, the area of sown land decreased generally during the 16th century.¹⁷

16. Boldyrev A.N., 1957, pp. 122, 298-299.

17. Abduraimov M.A., 1966, p. 260.

Among the Sheibanids there was a rule that the eldest in the clan was declared the head of the state. Hence after the final expulsion in 1512 A.D. from Central Asia of all pretenders it was not Ubeidallah Khan who became the ruler (he was most influential among the Shebanids) but Kuchkunchi Khan who neither had authority nor power and was mostly occupied with praying and pious acts. Later the son of Kuchkunchi became the ruler and only afterwards Ubeidallah (1533-1939).

Already during the rule of Sheibani Khan the state was divided into principalities. Now there occurred final allocation of the principalities to members of the dynasty. The large rulers of principalities were independent in internal affairs, the rule at once became hereditary and only as a result of internecine wars particular cities and regions fell into the hands of outsiders. The large principalities were Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, Balkh, Gissar and a few others. At different intervals of time, different owners of each of these principalities became the rulers but most of the time the owners of Samarkand (in the first half of 10th century) were declared rulers, and from 1560 A.D. Bukhara became finally the capital of the state of the Sheibanids.

During the first three quarters of the century the state of the Sheibanids consisted typically of principalities and the ruler who carried the title of Khan and Khakan was only one of the principality owners. He was not always the most influential and powerful. Only outward prerogatives of power belonged to him: the honorific title, *khutba* (the announcement of his name during Friday prayers) and the minting of silver coins in his name.¹⁸ Till the forties of the 16th century these rules were followed. Later some principality owners even sometimes minted coins in their own names as not just actual but also as formally completely independent rulers.

During the rule of the first three rulers (Kuchkunchi Khan his son Abu Said Khan and Ubaidallah Khan) the internal situation in

18. In the eyes of contemporaries *Khutba* and minting of coins were such important signs of supreme power that in the written sources when the proclamation of the ruler is mentioned these signs were particularly stressed.

the state was relatively quite stable. There existed a certain condition for restoration and normalisation of the economy. The rulers and principality owners even took some active measures for normalisation of those spheres of economic life which were connected with the interests of the class of feudals and their own interests. In this connection particularly indicative is the monetary reform carried out during the rule of Kuchkunchi Khan. As already mentioned the monetary circulation was going through a crisis as a result of the wars destructive for the country and the machinations of Babur and the Sheibanids with the mintage of coins. It badly affected the trade as a whole and the interests of the class of feudals and ultimately reduced the revenues of the Sheibanids themselves derived from trade and monetary circulation. The necessity for reform had matured but it was difficult to conduct it in conditions of principalities-based state structure and the large independence of the principality owners. It so happened that the head of the state, Kuchkunchi Khan, in his capital, Samarkand and Ubeidallah Khan in his principality, Bukhara, first carried out an independent monetary policy. It took more than decades in order to set right the monetary circulation at the level of the whole state.¹⁹

A distinctive mark of the period under study was the military campaign of the Sheibanids against Khorasan.²⁰ The initiator of these campaigns was Ubeidallah Khan who like other Sheibanids had a strong desire to restore his state to the size that existed during the days of the founder of the dynasty, Sheibani Khan. Besides, the Sheibanids considered themselves as the rightful heirs of the Timurids.²¹

During these campaigns the Sheibanids tried to capture large cities. Herat attracted them in the first place. They indeed seized Herat thrice but only for a short time. In 1532 the Sheibanids laid siege to Herat but could not take it. However, they seized all big cities including Astrabad. The last campaign led by Ubeidallah Khan took place in 1535-1537 A.D. After five months of siege Ubeidallah Khan captured it and retained it for more than one year.

19. Davidovich E.A., 1951a, pp. 106-120.

20. For more details see: Davidovich E.A., 1935a, pp. 97-106.

21. Miklukho-Maklai N.D., 1952, p. 11 onwards.

In order to consolidate his victory he was going to force a decisive battle on the Sefevide ruler but the Sheibanid Sultans as it happened many times before, opposed it and preferred to retreat to their native lands. Even the power of such an authoritarian ruler as Ubeidallah Khan (and he was the head of the state at this time) was not enough to take independent decisions.

The Khorasan military campaigns of the Sheibanids were not of a plunderous character. However, they enriched their participants. Besides, as has been correctly observed²², they objectively hampered the development of internal feuds among the Sheibanids. Notwithstanding the authoritarianism and independence of the principality owners, the territory of the state of the Sheibanids during this period did not become an arena of constant internecine wars. Of course, numerous marches of troops in the direction of Khorasan, preparations and equipment for military campaigns created an additional burden on the population of Central Asia. However, the situation at this time was calm and conditions were more stable for normal development of economy than in the subsequent period.

Feudal Internecine Wars, Abdallah II and "Unification of Principalities"

From the 40s of the 16th century the feudal internecine struggles and wars became a common phenomenon. The struggle was waged between owners of large principalities who were joined by small owners: some wanting to keep the principalities and others desirous of receiving new ones.

There is no need to describe the numerous feudal wars, the groupings and regroupings of sultans.²³ We would just limit ourselves to mention the following.

The Sheibanid sultans often could not come to an agreement even on questions of inheriting the throne and the head of the state took part in feudal wars like a common principality owner. There were cases when some of the Sultans not only did not acknowledge the head of the state, not only fought against him and

22. ITN, II 1, 1965, p. 372.

23. For details see: Veliaminov-Zernov V.V., 1859; Vyatkin V.L., 1927.

his followers but even acquired supreme attributes of *khutba* and issue of coins in their name. There were cases when different groups declared different rulers and in the country there was something like a dual power. One such episode is linked with the name of Timur Ahmad, the master of Gissar. As already mentioned, Gissar was one of the largest principalities in the state of the Sheibanids. While the head of the state was the ruler of Tashkent, Nauruz-Ahmad Khan (Bara Khan) the internecine wars raged with great force. However, the head of the state came forward not as a peace keeper, but the other way round, as an initiator of conflict. It is important to emphasize that two main groups of sultans emerged distinctly: the family of Tashkent principality owner headed by Khakhan and the group led by young Abdallah Sultan. In numerous battles and sieges Nauruz-Ahmad Khan of Tashkent strongly pushed Abdallah and even took away the principality of his father, the large region of Miankal (between Bukhara and Samarkand) with the centre in Kermin city.²⁴

After the death of Nauruz-Ahmad Khan, Pir Mohammad Khan, the owner of Balkh and the uncle of Abdallah Sultan was declared the head of the state according to written sources. But numismatic data bring interesting corrections into the characteristics of the political situation of this period.²⁵ It seems that the two hostile groups which were set up earlier proclaimed two different Khakhans. The Tashkent family of principality owners declared the owner of Gissar, Timur Ahmad, as the head of the state and issued coins in his name; the group of Abdallah Sultan made his uncle Pir Mohammad, the head of the state. This group at last was victorious.

This first big victory of Abdallah Sultan was followed by some other military and political successes. First Abdallah brought back his hereditary principality Miankal and then expelled the sons of Nauruz Ahmad from Samarkand and in 1557 A.D. captured Bukhara. Soon afterwards taking advantage of internecine wars in Balkh (the son of Pir Mohammad in the absence of his father captured the city) Abdallah called his father from Kermin in

24. Veliaminov-Zernov V.V., 1859, pp. 379-386.

25. Davidovich E.A., 1952, pp. 27-36.

Bukhara and in 1560 A.D. proclaimed him the head of the state²⁶, although his uncle Pir Mohammad Khan was alive, brought back Balkh and remained Khakhan until his death. But he was old, and burdened by his family mess, did not even try to bring back his throne which was illegally snatched away from him. Iskandar, the father of Abdallah, was purely a figure head. The real head of the state was Abdallah and his sole serious rival was the family of the owners of the principality of Tashkent.

Abdallah whose independence now nobody could limit, with amazing energy and purposeness and ruthlessness began to further "integrate" the principalities. In 1573 A.D. he captured Balkh, in 1574 A.D. Gissar, in 1578 A.D. Samarkand and at last in 1582 A.D. Tashkent also. In 1583 A.D. after the death of his father, Abdallah was proclaimed the ruler in violation of the above-mentioned rule (he was not the eldest in the clan). Now in his hands the real and formal powers of the ruler were combined. He was the sole ruler among the Sheibanid Khakhans whose struggle with the authoritarianism of owners of the principalities succeeded and who was able to create to some extent a centralised state.

But Abdallah Khan II dreamt of much more: He wanted to bring back to the Shebanids the old lands which once upon a time were seized by Sheibani Khan, the founder of the dynasty and in contrast with his unsuccessful predecessors, he succeeded to a considerable extent: one of the reasons for his success was of course his skill for concentration of large power in his hands. He did not depend on the caprices and decisions of other members of the dynasty.

In 1584 A.D. Abdallah Khan II conquered Badakhshan, in 1588 A.D. Herat, and then many other cities of Khorasan. The conquest of Khwarezm demanded greater power and time;

26. Such an order of succession of the throne is narrated by a contemporary of the events Hafiz-i-Tanysh in his "*Abdallahnama*". V.V. Veliaminov-Zernov (1859, pp. 392-395) rightly noted that the version of later historian Yusuf Munshi is absolutely distorted and confused. In support of V.V. Veliaminov-Zernov it may be added that large numismatic material collected during the past century (for last report see: Lowick N.M., 1966), fully confirms the version of Hafiz-i-Tanysh himself merely concrete details to some of his data.

three campaigns were needed to firmly establish his power there in 1595 A.D.

The cessation of internecine wars and the centralisation of power created favourable conditions for normalising economic life. Abdallah Khan was an outstanding statesman. In folk legends numerous constructions are associated with his name: irrigation works, roads, water reservoirs, bridges, caravan sarais and trade centres. In these legends there is a grain of truth.

In the sources some irrigation works carried out on his order are mentioned. These include Nuratin dam for collecting muddy water coming from mountains during rains and melting of snow, the repair work on canals in the region of Sauran, reservoir near Kushka river, the bridge on Zeravshan near Gizuwan which perhaps also served for lifting water.²⁷

Particular attention was given by Abdallah to questions of external and internal trade. It is testified by the repair of roads carried out by him and the general improvement of conditions for caravan trade. In this connection his monetary reform and its objective results are indicative.²⁸

Almost 50 years of incessant feudal wars on the territory of Central Asia created extremely unfavourable conditions for trade and monetary circulation. Autocratic and independent principality owners tried to conduct autonomous policy in monetary affairs in order to extract maximum gains from this item of revenue. They destroyed all norms of all-state circulation. In this connection the increasing shortage of silver metal in the country due to absence of considerable internal and external supply is worth mentioning. In these conditions the unscrupulous exploitation by the principality owners, both the minting and circulation of silver coins, led to gradual decline in trade. Silver coins disappeared in two ways: part of them were concealed till "better times", the other part was taken out abroad. Moulding of a part of silver in conditions of its general shortage resulted in changed market proportion of the silver and copper metals and led to sharp difference between market and official state rates for the silver coins.

27. Bart'old V.V., pp. 153, 200, 226; Chekhovich O.D., 1954a, p. 106.

28. Davidovich E.A., 1951a, pp. 120-141.

The monetary crisis was acute and demanded intervention. It was liquidated by the monetary reform of Abdallah II. There is no mention of this reform in the written sources. Only in *Abdallahnama* of Hafiz-i-Tanysh there is a small hint that Abdallah Khan II meticulously instructed that gold coins should not be spoiled by mixing other less valuable metals in their mintage. Indeed Abdallah Khan regularised the minting of high value gold coins. But the main part of his reform was concerned with the mint and circulation of silver. The centralisation of state formed the pre-requisite for his reform. It was now possible to close down several mints in the principalities. Similar coins which were minted mainly in Bukhara had uniform circulation in the entire state and there was no "principality obstacle" for them. The market and official rates of the silver coins were brought on par. This immediately stopped the disappearance of silver. The reform successfully took into account the interest of trade and the treasury: the revenues from mintage now flowed mainly into the treasury of Abdallah Khan II.

2. Socio-Economic Relations

Landownership and Use

In the 16th century lands were divided into five categories on the basis of right of ownership. The Sheibanid conquest in this respect did not lead to any principal changes. However, some new phenomena and tendencies should be noted. As before, the largest category was that of state lands. It was the main but not the sole fund of ownership on the basis of grant, i.e., conditional feudal ownership. The new phenomenon was the re-distribution of state lands. In the 16th century the main landowners of the state lands on the basis of grants was the new group of feudal class – numerous members of the dynasty and the top of the nomadic Uzbek tribes which came along with the Sheibanids.

The state of the Sheibanids, as already noted consisted of principalities. The economic basis of this "principality based" state was the right of the principality owner to collect the whole or part (two variants are known) of the feudal rent tax from the state lands

of his principality for his benefit. Such large grants of entire principalities in the 16th century were also called *Suyurgal*.²⁹ The principality owners besides had some rights, including the right to independently use the rent-tax granted to them. Thus a situation occurred when the principality owners distributed a part of state lands of their principalities to smaller temporal and ecclesiastical feudals and to the representatives of the military strata. There appeared a hierarchy of multi-level land grants. Such facts are recorded in the 16th century legal documents.³⁰

These smaller grants coming from the central power or from the principality owners were also sometimes called *suyurgal*. Sometimes other terms were also added to it. The grants for military service in the 16th century were called *tankho* and *ikta*.³¹

The other category of land on the basis of ownership — feudal *milki* (i.e., the lands from which a part of the rent in favour of the state and a part in favour of the private person — the feudal) was quite large. Here three tendencies may be noted. Firstly, the members of the Sheibanid dynasty and the top of the Uzbek nomadic tribes are fully trying to obtain the *milki* lands. A large quantity of *milki* land was obtained by the conquerors by way of confiscations from the Timurids, Timurid elite and officials (who could not cross over to the side of the Sheibanids) and in some cases from the clergy. Later, according to legal documents of the 16th century, the members of the dynasty and the top of the Uzbek tribes intensively purchased *milki* lands in rural areas and cities.³²

The second tendency to which the legal documents testify is the “break up” of the *milki* lands, their division between the state and feudals according to their shares of rent. For example, if the share of the state in rent from the *milki* lands was two-thirds of this rent and the share of the feudals — one-third of the rent — then after the division, two-thirds of the lands were changed from *milki* into state lands and one-third of the lands changed from *milki* lands

29. Ivanov P.P., p. 26.

30. Nabyev R.N., 1959, pp. 26-28.

31. Ivanov P.P., 1954, pp. 26-27. It may be noted that the entire terminology related to grants in the 16th century is still not adequately researched.

32. Ivanov P.P., 1954, pp. 24-25.

to *milk-i-khurr-i-Khalis* (i.e., the really privately owned).³³ During such divisions the fund of *milki* lands was decreasing. Another source of decrease in this fund which cannot be ignored is the abundant grants of *milki* land to *waqf* during the 16th century (see below).

And lastly, according to the documents of the 16th century and of the subsequent period, the *milki* lands were used by the state as the fund for feudal grants. In this case the state granted its own share of rent from *milki* lands.³⁴ This kind of grants should not be confused with the "whitening" of *milki* lands when the state freed the *milkdar* (the owner of *milki*) from the rent tax so that he took himself the entire rent. Using the *milki* lands (like state ones) for the grants, the state could grant its share of the rent from *milki* lands not to the *milkdar* but to completely another person. In this case a part of rent was received by one person (on the basis of ownership) and the other part by another "on the basis of grants."

The specific weight of the lands of the category *milk-i-khurr-i-khalis* in the 16th century was not large but was growing. The legal documents record two ways of increase in this period of the quantity of fully privately owned lands: division between the state and the feudals of *milki* lands (see above), purchase of state lands by feudals. It is interesting to note that purchase of state lands was recorded in documents as change into *milki* lands with consequent division of the latter as described above.

The fund of *waqf* lands during the 16th century undoubtedly increased both at the expense of *milki* lands as well as to some extent at the expense of lands *milk-i-khurri-khalis*. This is confirmed by numerous religious buildings (*madrasas*, *mazars*, mosques and *khanakas*) which were built during the 16th century and in all cases maintained as *waqf* property among which land occupied a substantial place. A considerable number of *waqfname* of the 16th century have been found from which it is evident that besides the main provision, different persons later granted in favour of the same constructions additional resources.

33. Davidovich E.A., 1961a, pp. 28-32.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

The state in some cases received from *waqf* lands its own share of rent and in other cases nothing. But the Khakhans often “whitened” the *waqf* lands. In this respect the 16th century differed little from the preceding period. The other thing is interesting. The *waqf* lands, as is known, were not subjected to alienation and were inviolable. In the meantime from some *waqf* grants it is evident that big feudals tried to lay hand on *waqf* property and revenues. Particularly eloquent in this respect is the *waqfname* in favour of the Samarkand madrasa of Sheibani Khan. Among conditions provided by a woman who created the *waqf* there are such conditions: “...it is not desirable to rent out these *waqf* properties to persons from whose side there is a danger of grabbing them...among them are tyrants, hostile and inimical persons; to sultan...; these *waqf* properties in no case should be rented out to the officials and persons from whom it will be difficult or” impossible to realise the rent tax.”³⁵

The *mutawalli* usually was in charge of the *waqf* lands and other *waqf* property. The grant deed was preserved with one of the successors of the persons who granted the land. The *waqf* property was for the clergy one of the means of ruthless exploitation of the toiling strata of the country, if not the single but extremely important methods of personal enrichment.

The biggest in charge of *waqf* lands, the keepers of the *waqf* grants were Sheikhs and Ishans of the two most influential in Central Asia Sufi-dervish brotherhoods — “Kubraviya” and “Nakhshbandiya” (otherwise “Khojagon”). The dervish sheikhs concentrated in their hands large wealth. Such for example were famous sheikhs Juibari.³⁶

A contemporary of Abdallah Khan II, Khoya Islam Juibari, was the owner of large herds of horses, sheep, camels and cultivated land. Fond of hunting, Khoya Islam had many dogs, and

35. Mukminova R.G., 1966, p. 293

36. Viatkin V.L., 1927, p 3 onwards; Ivanov P.P., 1954, p 48 onwards. For interesting material about the struggle between the sheikhs — “Kubraviys” and “Nakhshbandiya” at the roots of which lay the material interests and longing for political influence and also about methods of deception of the people see: Semenov A.A., 1940 and 1941.

big staff of falconers, etc. The faithful desirous of meeting him complained that the "holy oldman" talks more to birds and dogs than to people. Three hundred slaves served at his court and for household accounts there was a special office. Khoya Islam was engaged in trade as well and his caravans went upto Moscow. All these crowned and uncrowned rulers, temporal and ecclesiastical, different types of "holy men" and their retainers mercilessly plundered the people.

Legal documents sometimes mention another category of lands — small plots of *milki* lands which were under the direct ownership of the producer.³⁷

We do not have information about the number of such peasant *milki*. But indirect sources show that the fund of such lands during the 16th century and the subsequent period considerably decreased. The peasants sold their *milki* lands to rich feudals. Obviously it was done not voluntarily but under direct pressure or as a result of economic hardship. Here a great role was played by mortgaging and money-lending.

The peasants-*milkdars* in comparison with the rest of the masses of direct producers were in a relatively privileged condition. The rent tax formally paid by them to the state was less than that of the other peasants paid to the state and feudals. But small size of plots of land and increase in family led to these peasants also falling into the trap of bondage to feudals and money-lenders.

In the 16th century, as in the earlier times, the feudals did not have large-scale landlord farms and the main economic unit was that of peasant household. Hence the lands off all categories were farmed out to peasants. The peasant-tenants did not have the same status. Legal documents of 16th century show that often feudals were the tenants of the *waqf* and state lands. The peasants in this case were sub-tenants and the conditions of tenancy were tougher because tenant feudals took away from sub-tenant peasants more than the usual size of the rent.³⁸ The conditions of peasant-tenants and sub-tenants worsened due to the fact that the tenure of tenancy

37. Ivanov P.P., 1954, pp. 31-32, 41

38. *Ibid.*, pp 33-34

was not long. In the *waqf* deeds, for example, it is stipulated that the lands should not be farmed out for more than three years.

In Central Asia in the 16th century existed communal landownership and strong remnants of it.³⁹ The condition of the commune peasant economically did not differ much from the condition of the peasant-tenants. But he had one definite advantage: he cultivated land "permanently", had a right of a kind of "permanent tenancy".

It is not correct to think that the peasant-communards were settled only on state land. The commune land switched over from owner to owner. It could be a *milki* land, *waqf* land, etc, but the peasant notwithstanding this did not lose his right to "permanent tenancy". It is extremely important to remember that during sale and purchase of the commune land it was not parcelled out. In essence it was sale-purchase not of the land itself but of the right on the rent from the peasant-communard. Such cases are reported when the commune land was in the hands of several co-owners but the land itself was not divided between them, they only divided the rent.⁴⁰

We do not have sufficient data to judge whether the form of exploitation during the Sheibanid period changed in comparison with the 15th century. It is convincingly proved that the lawful and fixed size of the main part of the land rent was in the 16th century as a rule 30 per cent of the crop from the cultivated land (but sometimes it reached 40 per cent) and it was collected in kind.⁴¹ Besides, there were many other different taxes which were collected sometimes in cash, sometimes in kind. But their absolute size is not known exactly. They perhaps in many cases depended on the will of the central and local administration. The land rent from grape orchards was as a rule collected in cash. As before there also existed labour rent form. The most direct and doubtless proof of the hard condition of peasants as reported in different sources is the abandoning by peasants of their long-occupied places and fleeing.⁴² This phenomenon reached a level that the

39. Ivanov P.P., 1958, p.62.

40. Davidovich E.A., 1961a, pp. 36-38.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-32.

42. Nabiyev R.N., 1964, pp. 95-96; Mukminova R.G., 1966, pp. 52, 55-56.

administration took active measures upto attaching the peasants to the land. In this connection, of particular interest are the documents related to Fargana where the fleeing peasants were brought back.

In the cities of Central Asia there existed the same categories of landownership as in the rural areas. Judging on the basis of legal documents of this period, the characteristic phenomenon both for the city and village was the intensive process of concentration of landownership in the hands of the members of the dynasty, big temporal and ecclesiastical feudals. In both places it was proceeding at the expense of bankruptcy of small and even medium landowners. In the cities another process was also going on simultaneously. The concentration in the hands of the feudals of the craft workshops and residential houses was taking place. The craftsmen were becoming tenants not only of the land but also of structures of their own workplace and often even of their residential place. It increased the norm of exploitation of direct producer in the city. Besides this, in the cities there also existed typically urban taxes. This is what Jenkinson writes: The Bukharan king takes one-tenth of all items sold by the craftsmen and traders which results in the impoverishment of the whole people."⁴³ The burden of taxation in the city grew many times because of the fact that besides the fixed taxes, the masters of the cities at their own will imposed additional direct taxes on the citizens and also levied indirect taxes.⁴⁴

Crafts, Internal Trade and Money Circulation

In the literature on the subject two diametrically opposite evaluation of the state of production of crafts in Central Asia of 16th century are given. According to one of them the crafts declined after the Sheibanid conquest while on the contrary according to the other it further developed. Neither of these two evaluations can be accepted as correct.

In the development of crafts production in the internal trade during the 16th century certain changes and developments took

43. Jenkinson, 1937, p. 183.

44. Shiskin V.A., 1947, pp. 25-26; Davidovich E.A., 1961a, pp. 40-44.

place. It did not however had much effect on the technical side of commodity production. The specialisation in crafts in the 16th century was as narrow as in the 15th century. For the characteristics of this specialisation in the 16th century we have at our disposal more material than for the preceding period because a lot of legal documents as sale deeds, *waqf* grants, etc. mentioning different shops and workshops, have been preserved. Each kind of ready-made production and even semi-products were made by separate or different craftsmen. The productivity of labour in crafts was at this time on a maximum possible level of development under feudalism.⁴⁵

It cannot be stated that important changes whatsoever in the quality of production occurred. If, for example, the quality of fancy expensive ceramic or of some kind of products of applied arts worsened to some extent, the Samarkand paper⁴⁶ and many other items of Central Asian art were famous and exported as earlier. Thus technical level of crafts' production and the quality of products on the whole did not change much in the 16th century.

However, new tendencies can be seen in comparison with the second half of the 15th century. A certain decrease in the scale of commodity production and monetary trade as also in the sphere of small retail and wholesale trade took place. These tendencies appeared not immediately. Already in the second quarter and by the middle of 16th century these were visible.⁴⁷ The measures taken by the state power from time to time to create more favourable conditions for monetary trade (i.e., the reforms of Sheibani Khan, Kuchkunchi Khan and Abdallah Khan II) undoubtedly slowed down the growth of these tendencies but could not fully liquidate them. A study of the causes of gradual but steady decrease of commodity production and monetary trade in the 16th century and more intensively in the 17th-18th centuries is of great interest. This question was not worked out by historians on a full scale.

45. Belenitskii A.M., 1940; Belenitskii A.M., 1949; ITN vol. II(I) pp. 401-402.

46. Mukminova R.G., 1966, pp. 31-32.

47. Davidovich E.A., 1965, pp. 90-91.

Let us dwell on some particular reasons which influenced the state of crafts and monetary trade in the 16th century. A certain role was played here by changes in external trade. Through Central Asia during many centuries the transit trade route was passing which linked the East and the west. But in the 16th century after great geographical discoveries this route lost its importance. Central Asia became isolated from the main flow of commodities and this could not but influence the internal commodity production towards decrease of the scale of production in a large number of crafts the products of which were traded internationally and which served the caravans in transit.

Of course, these losses, to some extent, were compensated by the trade links of Central Asia with Russia which were becoming stronger in the 16th century. But the variety of goods exported on a large scale from Central Asia to Russia (see below), stimulated only a small group of crafts.

The essential moment is the state of monetary economy in the 16th century, the influence of principality-based state of the Shebanids on the organisation of the mints and circulation of coins. The end of 15th century and the first decades of 16th century are characterised by unrestricted exploitation of the monetary system. The quickly changing rulers of the cities and regions tried by different methods to extract greater revenue from monetary transactions. At this period the minting and circulation of copper coins was particularly misused. It were the copper coins which served the small retail trade in which both the craftsmen (who made not the luxury items but commodities for the common civilians) as well as the citizens themselves and the peasants who bought in their shops goods of primary need were equally interested. For larger trade in which various strata of the ruling classes were interested in the first place, extremely unfavourable conditions prevailed which in turn indirectly affected the development of crafts on the whole.

Two monetary reforms which were carried out during the first quarter of the 16th century and were aimed at creating more favourable condition for monetary trade testify that such conditions did not exist as a rule. It is indicative that the second of these two reforms could not be carried out immediately because of

the authoritarianism of the principality rulers; it required more than one and a half centuries to liquidate the crisis and to set right the monetary circulation on the level of the entire state.

In the following period the independence of principality owners put new obstacles for equal circulation of coins in the whole state.

After the reform of Kuchkunchi Khan which ended by 1525 A.D. such a situation had been strengthened in which the revenues from the mints of the big principality owners, for example, the revenues from silver coins were formed through two ways: fixed payments by the owners of the metal, and revenues from open machinations with the rate of silver. The essence of the latter was that the silver coins of equal weight and value were divided into two groups: the group of "old" coins and the group of "new" coins with different rates (according to purchasing power 10 "old" tenga were equal to 9 "new" ones). Periodically and arbitrarily by the support of state power "new" coins were declared "old" ones bringing to treasury 10 per cent of revenue and to the owners of the coins immediately 10 per cent of loss. The ruthless exploitation of monetary system and its consequences for trade were very convincingly characterised by Jenkinson who visited Bukhara in 1558-1559 A.D. "The price of silver is raised and lowered by the king for his own benefit every month and sometimes twice a month; he does not care for the people because he knows that he will not rule more than two or three years when he will be either killed or exiled. All this badly ruins the country and the traders."

It is necessary to add to this that along with increasing feudal splintering, the principality owners more and more obstructed the circulation of coins at the entire state level. Trying to extract more profit, they put obstacles to circulation of the coins of other cities in their principalities.

It is not accidental that in the third quarter of 16th century Central Asia went through one more and very serious crisis of monetary circulation.

The third essential moment is the general situation in the country and its direct influence on the economy. The numerous military campaigns and raids on Khorasan enriched the Shebanid rulers and partly their troops as well. But the preparation and

expenditure on these campaigns cost dearly to the people. Particularly ruinous was the almost half a century of incessant feudal internecine wars: the wars between Sheibanid Sultans, the change of power in cities and principalities was accompanied by trampling down of crops, plundering of cities and rise in taxes. Thus the situation in this period was also not conducive for the rise and even firm stabilisation of handicrafts and trade.

It is true that by the end of the century when Abdallah Khan II put an end to the internecine wars and took some measures for improvement of trade conditions, the situation was changed for the better and stabilised. But the period of stabilisation was extremely short to liquidate all consequences of the loss caused to handicrafts and trade during the preceding period. The later developments rapidly brought to naught the positive results of stabilisation of the common situation in the country during the period of Abdallah Khan II.

The fact that Bukhara during the 16th century expanded its territory, some outskirts were included in the city, does not contradict the conclusion that three-fourths of the 16th century was a period of gradual decline in the scale of handicraft production and internal trade. It was during the 16th century that in Bukhara many new monumental trade centres, caravan sarais, etc. were built and Bukhara in the second half of the 16th century firmly became the capital of the Sheibanid state. What is more important, Bukhara was the centre of Central Asian trade, the place where predominantly foreign traders used to come and which was the trans-shipping point for foreign goods. Hence the level of trade in Bukhara is not indicative of Central Asia and it does not justify statement about the progressive development of handicrafts in the whole of Central Asia.

External Trade, Diplomatic Relations

An important factor in the historical development of Central Asia in the 16th century was the strengthening of economic and diplomatic relations with Russia.⁴⁸ It was more visible in the

48. Zhukovskii S.V., 1915; Pankov A.V., 1927; Chuloshnikov A., 1932; Ziyaev Kh. Z., 1962; 1965; Juldashov M.U., 1964; Jamolov K., 1966.

second half of the century when Russian envoys in Central Asia and particularly Central Asian envoys in Moscow state became permanent guests. Envoys at that time were also traders: they carried in their caravans not only gifts for kings and khans but also goods for trade. The Khan-King trade was custom duties free, Sheibanid rulers and principality owners willingly despatched their caravans to Moscow state. But from the point of view of strengthening of economic ties the growth of private trade is more essential. Although the caravans of private traders arriving in Astrakhan were subjected to custom duty, it did not decrease the trade. The Central Asian goods became so usual and necessary for Russia that it found its reflection in terminology and geographical names. For example, one of the unit of weight current in Moscow was "Bukharan ansyr". In the Kazan Khanate the Central Asian traders were called "Teziks" (Tajiks), and in Kazan one of the settlement in the centre of the city was called "Tezik moat".

Trade was increasing through another route also — towards Siberia. Here the Central Asian goods were in greater demand, that is why, the Moscow government in 16th century did not charge any custom duty on trade with this region.

From among the Central Asian goods, cotton and silk fabric of different kinds were in great demand in the Moscow state. From Moscow to Central Asia raw leather, wooden utensils, woollen fabrics and many other things were exported. Some Russian goods in Bukhara were purchased by Indian, Chinese and Persian merchants.

Close diplomatic, trade and cultural contacts existed in the 16th century between the state of the Sheibanids and the great Mughals of India. Trade relations with Sefevide Iran considerably decreased. Here the main reason, besides the common ones (change of trade routes), was the religious rift between Shia Iran and Sunni Central Asia. The other cause was the political relations between the Sheibanids and the Sefevids which were aggravated by frequent military campaigns and raids by the Sheibanid sultans on Khorasan in order to conquer the rich cities in like Herat, Meshed, Isferain and others. Jenkinson who lived in Bukhara in 1558-59 A.D. and was particularly interested in trade related questions, thus wrote about the Central Asian trade with India and Iran: "The Indians

bring thin white fabrics which the Tatars wrapped around their head and also other kinds of white material which is used for stitching of clothes from the cotton material, but they donot bring any gold or silver, precious stones and spices. I enquired and found that such trade was carried through ocean because all the places where these items are found are under the power of the Portuguese. From Bukhara, Indians export silk fabrics, raw leather, slaves and horses, but coarse woolen fabrics they value very little. I suggested to traders from these country coming from distant places in India, even from the land of Bengal and river Ganga, to exchange broadcloth for their goods, but they did not agree.

The Persians bring here fabrics, cotton, linen and printed, and horses, etc. and take away from here raw leather and other Russian goods, slaves belonging to other countries. But they do not buy fabrics which they bring themselves."⁴⁹

Other sources replenish the list of goods exported to India (pears and apples, curants and almonds, Khwarezm melons, Russian furs and hunting birds) and also goods imported from India (brocade, dyes, tea, pearls).⁵⁰ It is necessary to note that a particular item which was coming from Central Asia in the second half of 16th century was Sheibanid silver coins; interestingly Akbar the Great (1556-1605) allowed in his state the circulation of Sheibanid coins for which a small stamp carrying his name was put.⁵¹ The diplomatic relations were also successfully developing between the Sheibanids and the great Mughals. The Sheibanids who expelled Babur from Central Asia made every effort to normaise relations with him after he conquered a considerable part of India. Towards the end of the rule of Kuchkunchi Khan, an official envoy was sent to Babur. Interestingly, the envoys were not only from the head of the dynasty, i.e., from Kuchkunchi Khan himself but from Sultans of the Sheibanid court. Babur received the mission very well and he presented them rich, gift when they were leaving. For example, to the envoy of Kuchkunchi Khan 70 thousand silver coins, precious sword and a gold-embroided

49. Jenkinson, 1937, p. 184.

50. *Istoriya Uzbekskoi SSR*, vol. I, pp. 537-538

51. Davidovich E.A., 1951, pp. 139-140

headgear were gifted.⁵² This mission was not only an act of recognition. At this time the Sheibanids were making onslaughts on Khorasan and were interested in securing their rear.

The diplomatic relations between the two outstanding rulers, the Shebanid Abdallah Khan II and the ruler of India, Akbar were successfully growing. They exchanged missions several times with letters and presents. Abdallah Khan II for example attached great importance to mission sent soon after the conquest of Badakhshan by the Sheibanids and impressive victory of the army of Akbar in Afghanistan. The mission had twin objectives: to prevent the further advance of Indian troops and from the other side to explain to Akbar that the Sheibanids also do not have any pretensions on his territory. The return mission of Akbar was received with great consideration and honour.⁵³

3. The Problem of Ethno-Genesis of the Uzbek People

The problem of ethno-genesis of the Uzbek people began to be examined on a scientific basis for the first time only in the Soviet-Marxist historiography. In the pre-revolutionary and also foreign literature the dominant view was that the history of the Uzbek people must begin from the 15th-16th centuries when the tribes of conquerors appeared in Central Asia who were called "Uzbeks". The beginning of the basically new understanding can be traced to A.Iu. Yakubovskii. He came to the conclusion that the conquerors — Uzbeks — were assimilated in the local Turkic population of Maverannahr: "...when the conquerors — Uzbeks — came on the territory of contemporary Uzbekistan, if not on the entire, then at least on a large part of it, the Turkic speaking, i.e., the Turkic or Turkicised population was there in a large number which had lived here for long and was forming in the process of merger with other more ancient peoples who had lived here since the antiquity. The nomadic-Uzbeks entered into the Turkic-speaking population only as the last component giving it their name".⁵⁴

52. Babur, 1958, p. 407.

53. Umniakov I.J., 1930, pp. 325-328.

54. Yakubovskii A. Iu., 1941, p. 3.

In 1949 I published my own interpretation of this complex and important problem. I reproduce here a citation from the *History of Tajik People*: "...From the 16th century there begins an increasing penetration of the Turkic-speaking tribes and people into the territory of Central Asia."⁵⁵ This process was accompanied by coming closer of these tribes and peoples with the ancient population of Central Asia. The joint actions of Turks with the Sogdians are characteristic for the struggle of the peoples of Central Asia with the foreign invaders. The transition, first of all, of the poor strata of Turkic nomads to settled life and cultivation of land was taking place during centuries. There was increasing blending and mixing of Turkic peoples with the Sogdians, Bactrians and Khorezmians, with the descendants of Sako-Massaget tribes. Among the peoples formed that way the Turkic spoken language was predominant. On this basis the Uzbek people (national group) was formed who thus absorbed in itself like other peoples of Central Asia, the cultural heritage of its ancient inhabitants. By the 11th century this process of formation of the Uzbek people reached its high intensity spreading more and more from the north of Central Asia towards its southern regions and found its reflection particularly in the creation of the Karakhanid state, in the development of urban culture.

To this period is related also the intensive formation of the Turkmen and other Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia. In this period the expression "Tiurk-u-Tajik" became widespread for the characterisation of the two main ethnic elements in the population of Central Asia.

As mentioned above, already during the period of the Samanids in the settled regions of Central Asia, there was a large number of Turkic-speaking population. Historians point out to the existence of a large number of Turkic-speaking population in Fargana, Khwarezm, Chach, Tokharistan and other settled

55. It is true that some historians tried to question this viewpoint. They stated that the penetration of Turkic-speaking tribes, started quite earlier. One can agree with this. However, the author assumes that an intensive mass penetration of Turkic-speaking tribes and peoples into the territory of Central Asia starts from the 6th century.

agricultural regions. But nonetheless during the Samanid period in the cities and settled agricultural regions of Central Asia the predominant majority of population was Tajik. The picture changes during the Karakhanid period. As a result of settling down of Turkic-speaking nomads and of Turkicization of the local Tajik population in Central Asia the proportion of the Turkic-speaking people sharply grew.

Among the ruling classes there appears a closeness of Turkic tribal nobility with the old feudal aristocracy who by combined efforts increased the exploitation of the toiling masses. At the same time at the lower-level among the toiling people themselves in the joint struggle against this exploitation there grew the bonds of friendship between the working people of Tajik and that of the Turkic-speaking peoples, particularly Uzbeks and Tajiks. During all the popular uprisings of the later centuries in the heroic struggles against outside invaders we see the descendants of all the peoples of Central Asia side by side with each other, particularly the neighbouring peoples — the Tajiks and Uzbeks. While studying the distinctive contribution made by each of these peoples to the treasure-house of culture we also emphasise their mutual links and influence on each other.⁵⁶ In our concept the viewpoint that the Uzbeks along with Tajiks and other peoples of Central Asia are the heirs of the whole ancient history and culture of Central Asia is underlined, and the role of ancient Iranian-speaking tribes and peoples in the formation of the Uzbek people is shown and the chronological frame of this process i.e., the 16th century is defined.

This concept was taken into account in the foreword (author is A.Iu. Yakubovskii) to the first edition of *The History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan* published in 1956 in its first edition⁵⁷ and clearly expressed in the edition of the *History of the Uzbek SSR* in 1967.⁵⁸

According to this concept the Uzbek people is an equal participant not only of the last four centuries of Central Asian history but also of a longer period of time.

56. Gafurov B.G., 1949, pp. 223-224.

57. Trever K.V. and others, 1950, pp. 10-12.

58. *Istoriya Uzbekskoi SSR*, vol. I, pp. 380-381; see also Vakhobov M.G., 1961, pp. 3-85.

Subsequent researches have brought us more accurately some concrete propositions of this concept. The initial point is the irregularity of the recognition of language as the sole indicator of the limit of ethnic history of people. In the contemporary stage of development of the science of history it can be briefly summarized here below.

Above the initial stages of mutual interaction of Irano-Turkic population were mentioned. The penetration into the territory of Central Asia of Turkic spoken language is related with the grand movements of nomadic tribes of north-eastern and Central Asia which started at the threshold of our era and continued, at times increasing and decreasing, during several subsequent centuries. Some part of these tribes including the Turkic-speaking tribes during their raids and resettlement remained on the territory of Central Asia.

The number of Turkic-speaking population of Central Asia particularly grew starting with the second half of the first century A.D. when the troops of the Turk Kaganate captured power on the territory of Central Asia between the two rivers after the defeat of the Ephtalites. From this time the Turkic-speaking tribes have played more and more important role in the processes of ethno-genesis in Central Asia (particularly in the northern and north-eastern and then in the southern regions) A.N. Bernshtam relates the beginning of this process on the territory of Fargana to 7th century A.D.⁵⁹ E.A. Davidovich and B.A. Litvinskii relate it to a more earlier period (6th-7th centuries).⁶⁰ About the existence of Turkic population in Khuttal informs Hoi Chao whose information belongs to 726-727 A.D.

In the eastern regions of Central Asia (particularly in the Semirechiye) and in Eastern Turkestan there existed numerous Sogdian colonies since long. The Sogdian language was gradually squeezed out by the Turkic.

59. Bernshtam A.N., 1947b.

60. Davidovich E.A. and Litvinskii B.A., 1955, pp. 207-208. To the second half of 6th, beginning of 7th century belongs, paleographically very ancient Turkic inscription — the most ancient Turkic inscription from northern Fargana and on the whole territory of Central Asia. See Kliashtormi, S.G., 1960a, p. 175, note No. 14.

The inflow of Turkic-speaking population increased considerably in the 10th-12th centuries. The Turks occupy an important place in the administrative apparatus of the Samanid state, its army, etc. The Turkic dynasties appeared (for example, the Ghaznavid). At the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century. In Central Asia a whole wave of Turkic intrusions and resettlement can be seen: Turks-Seljuks, Turkmens, Guzs, Illek-khans. The latter after defeating the Samanids formed a large state encompassing Maverannahr, Semirechiye and Eastern Turkestan. This state which is known in history as the Karakhanid state played an important role in the history of Central Asia. The state of Karakhanids included the Uigur tribes, Karluks, Chigils, Yagma, Argu and Tyurgesh.

The language of the Turkic population of the Karakhanid state is characterised by linguists as the Karluk-Uigur language. It has some phonetical, morphological and lexico-grammatical peculiarities found in such works as "Kutadgubilik" of Yusuf Balasagun in the corresponding part of "Diwan lugat at-Turk" of Mahmud Kashgar and others.⁶¹ The Turkic-speaking tribes of the Karakhanid period were in close interaction with the local Sogdians (and other peoples part of whom continued to speak Eastern Iranian languages) as well as with the Tajik speaking population. Thus during the time of Mahmud Kashgar (11th century) the inhabitants of the cities of Semirechiye in particular of Balasagun "accepted the clothes and customs of Turks, speaking Sogdian as well as Turkic languages and there were no people who spoke only Sogdian languages (the same was the case with the inhabitants of Taraz and Isfijab).⁶²

From this it is clear that in the second half of 11th century the Sogdians of Semirechiye were bilingual and that they were gradually being absorbed into the Turkic ethnic environment. In the south of Uzbekistan there lives a small ethnic group Kharduri. They are Tajiks by origin and continue to speak the Tajik language but with a large number of Uzbek words and expressions. However, the character of the economy and the way of living of

61. Shcherbak A.M., 1956; Baskakov N.A., 1969, pp. 300-301.

62. Bart'old V.V., 1964, pp. 466-467.

this group, their many customs are similar to those of neighbouring Uzbek tribes.⁶³

The second example is linked with Khwarezm. In the 12th century two main peoples were represented there — the Tajiks (Tajik language had by that time squeezed out considerably the Khwarezmian language) and the Turks. In the letter of credentials to the Vice-regent of Syr Daria border cities by the Khwarezm Shah Tekesh (1172-1200 A.D.) only these two peoples are mentioned.⁶⁴

According to the testimony of the great scholar of Central Asia Al Biruni who was Khwarezmian by origin, the "natural" language for him was the Khwarezmian. Phrases and even entire dialogues in the Eastern Iranian Khwarezmian language are found as it is known in the works of 12th-13th centuries. However, in the same works Turkic words and expressions can be found which indicate to the presence in the Khwarezm of 12th century of a certain perhaps considerable number of Turkic-speaking population. Such a conclusion is also confirmed by the testimony of the contemporaries, for example, Plano Karpini who visited Khwarezm in the forties of 13th century and informed that in Khwarezm they spoke the Komanian language (that is one of the Turkic dialects). It can be assumed that by this time a majority of the indigenous population was bilingual and even trilingual (Khwarezmian, Tajik and Turkic languages), with the Turkic language dominating over the Khwarezmian.

After the 13th-14th centuries we do not have any information about the Khwarezmian language. Perhaps soon after this period it was finally squeezed out by the Turkic dialect and the population of Khwarezm which was in the past Iranian (Khwarezmian and Tajik-speaking) finally switched over to the Turkic language. The Turkic (Uzbek and Turkmen) dialects which were developing on the Khwarezmian substratum absorbed a number of ancient Khwarezmian words (compare, for example, *agpa* — big canal, *uav* — small canal, etc. in the Uzbek dialects of contemporary

63. Eshniyozov M., 1956.

64. Semenov A.A., 1952, p. 24.

Khwarezm). The ancient Iranian speech is broadly represented in the geographical names of this region (Khazarasp), etc.

The study of written sources show that in the 11th-12th centuries the Turkic population formed not separate islands but a considerable layer, particularly in the northern and partly in the southern regions of the country where it was or becoming predominant. In the cultural life of Central Asia and even in the culture of the urban population there are visible traits of Turkic contribution and Turkic influence (see, for example, the depictions on ceramic, etc.). The Turkic language of that time which is mentioned above — Karluk-Uigur — was the basic language after the break up of which and on the basis of which there developed in Central Asia of the post-Mongol period the ancient Uzbek language very closely linked with its predecessor.⁶⁵

In Soviet historiography there is a viewpoint which is formulated in the *History of the Uzbek SSR*: "In the 11th-12th centuries mainly, the formation of the Turkic-speaking people was completed, who were later called the Uzeks."⁶⁶ Here it was mainly correctly emphasised because the formation of the Uzbek people (as well as the Tajik) had been going on for a long time. The tribal differences were still very distinct, the new comers Tiurks were sharply different from the Turkicised in language settled inhabitants, and from those Turkic-speaking nomads who moved into Central Asia in the pre-Arab times, the formation of the old Uzbek language was taking place.⁶⁷

The Mongol conquest again brought about great changes in the ethnic map of Central Asia. The resettlement of a large number of the Mongol-nomads was an extremely substantial factor. From the point of view of ethnic history it is very important that these Mongol tribes—the Mangit, Jalair, Barlas, etc.—after coming to Central Asia were Turkicised in language during a short time.⁶⁸

The fact that why just Turkicisation but not Tajikisation of the new comers took place is explained by the fact that in their way of

65. Shcherbak A.M., 1959, pp. 108-109.

66. *Istoriya Uzbekshkoi SSR*, T.1, p. 380.

67. Malov S.E., 1961, pp. 221-222.

68. Shcherbak A.M., 1956, p. 109.

life the Mongols as well as the Tiurks were nomads and it is natural that the Mongols associated themselves more closely with the Tiurks. But the intensity and swiftness of the process permits to make a conclusion about the very powerful Turkic environment in which the new comers, the Mongols, found themselves.

In the 14th-16th centuries there existed the old Uzbek language including the literary one which attained perfection. "In the given period some territorial dialects were already formed but the tribal-lingual differences played an important role. On the territory of Fargana, in Maverannahr and Khwarezm, the representatives of the three main dialect groups in differing proportions entered into contact and mutual interaction: Karluk-Uigur, Uigur-Oguz and Kypchak."⁶⁹ "The basis of literary language was the live Turkic speech of the population of Maverannahr which differed besides the essential mixture of Iranian elements, by the conglomeration of the eastern and western Turkic elements..."⁷⁰ In the literary language there was an abundance of Iranian vocabulary and Arabic elements (sometimes 40-50 per cent of vocabulary); constructions which were not characteristic for the Turkic language were used. Many poets wrote their verses in the Turkic and Persian language (for example, Lutfi and other predecessors and contemporaries of Novai as also the founder of the Uzbek literature himself who was called by his contemporaries as fluent in two languages)."⁷¹

In the 14th-15th centuries there took place mass Turkicisation of the settled rural and urban population particularly in Khwarezm, Semirechiye, Tashkent oasis and Fargana. In the sources this settled population figured under the name "Sarts".⁷² As is evident from "Baburnamae" this name was used for both the Turkic-speaking and for Tajik-speaking settled population which is by itself symptomatic: that is, there was no sharp difference between them.

69. Shcherbak A.M., 1962, p. 223.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

71. *Ibid.* p. 20 onwards; Rustamov E.R., 1963; Bertels E.A., 1965a.

72. For this term and its history see: Ostroumov N.P., 1908; Samoilovich A., 1910; Bart'old V.V., 1964z, Vakhobov M.G., 1961, pp. 31-33.

So far as the term "Uzbek" is concerned, all attempts to link this name with the Golden Horde Khan Uzbek (1312-1340 A.D.) are baseless.⁷³ It can be assumed that in the 50s or 60s of the 14th century this name was applied to Turkic-Mongol population *Dasht-i-Kipchak*, and after the intrusion of the alliance of the nomadic tribe under the leadership of Sheibani Khan in Maverannahr and Khorasan on the threshold of 15th and 16th centuries, the Turkic-speaking population of these regions,⁷⁴ that is, the Uzbek people received its name. Of course, the resettlement of the new large mass of the Turkic-speaking tribes which brought the name for the people was an important event but it did not become a principally new key moment in the history of the Uzbek people. The fact is that the nomads-Uzbeks who came in Maverannahr were mainly represented by the same tribes which already lived in Central Asia.

The linguist-Turkologist have established that "already in the 14th-15th centuries the grammatical structure and the main vocabulary fund of the language of the Uzbek people were being established approximately in the form in which they are found in our times", while the settlement of the nomadic Uzbek tribes in Maverannahr did not change either the language or the ethnic type of the already existing Uzbek people.⁷⁵

The further ethnic development of the Uzbek people was going on in several directions. There was taking place extinction of the tribalistic character of the settlement and social structure with the formation of territorial units and links. This process was not complete even during the modern period as in some regions tribe-clan divisions were still preserved. This process was going on intensively where the change from nomadic to semi-nomadic and particularly to settled economy and way of life was going on. Simultaneously, on a wide scale was going on the Turkicisation of

73. Semenov A.A., 1954b, pp. 3-37; Akhmedov B.A., 1965a, pp. 11-12; see also Grekov B.D., Yakubovskii A.Iu., 1950, pp. 298-302.

74. Akhmedov B.A., 1965a, pp. 11-17. About the correlation of the terms "Uzbek" and "Kazakh" in 15th-16th centuries see: Ibragimov S.K., 1960a, 1960b.

75. Shcherbak A.M., 1956, pp. 109-110.

the local Tajik-speaking population — through different forms of bilingualism (from partial to full) and at the same time Tajikisation of the separate groups of Uzbeks. All these complex heterogeneous and contradictory tendencies on the whole led to levelling of the constituent components and consolidation (in the ethnic terms) of the Uzbek people.

Above it was stated several times that the Uzbek people was formed on the basis of the settled Iranian-speaking population in which the Turkic-speaking tribes had flowed into many times, and already Turkicised groups were blended with new Turkic ingredients. Unfortunately science does not have methods with which the number-wise proportion of one or the other component could be established. This problem cannot be solved also on the basis of analysis of anthropological materials. It is necessary to keep in mind that the Turkic-speaking tribes and peoples who were arriving in Central Asia could have been a mixed up lot even before moving into Central Asia. It is true that anthropological materials can be of some interest for orientative conclusions. Indeed among the three large Turkic-speaking peoples of northern Central Asia — the Uzbeks, Kazakhs and the Kyrgyzs — the latter two are the Mongoloid ones according to the physical type (the Kyrgyzs are more Mongoloid than the Kazakhs) and the Uzbeks are Europeoid. Anthropologically the Uzbeks belong to the same race as the Tajiks — to the Europeoid Brahitisefal race of the Central Asian inter-river region. The difference between the physical type of the Tajiks and the Uzbeks is the large Mongoloid blend in the latter. However, as anthropologists have underlined “in the basis of anthropological type of Uzbeks lies the local ancient Europeoid racial type and the Mongoloid features are only mixed to it.” (V.V. Ginzburg). Such is the opinion of L.V. Oshanin, A.I. Yarkho and V.V. Ginzburg.⁷⁶ Among the nomadic Uzbek tribes sometimes the racial type is more Mongoloid than among settled Uzbeks. As an example, one may refer to the Lokaits. At the same time the Uzbek Karluks fully lost the clearly Mongoloid traits whatsoever, “absorbed” in the mass of local population and

76. Oshanin L.V., 1957, pp. 93-100; Ginzburg V.V., 1964, pp. 132-133.

they do not differ at all from the Tajiks anthropologically.⁷⁷ In this way from the clear blend of Mongoloid features to the relatively small in which the Uzbek population does not differ completely from the Tajik—such are the variations of physical type of contemporary Uzbeks. For comparison it may be noted that except Pamir Tajiks in whom the Mongoloid blend is fully absent, it is present in rest of the Tajik groups. It is more prominent among the Tajiks of Fargana, southern and south-eastern Tajikistan and less noticeable among the Tajiks of Bukhara, Samarkand and upper Zeravshan.⁷⁸

Thus the anthropological material shows the main nucleus of the Uzbek people was the local Central Asian Europeoid population which was to some extent Mongolised as a result of mixing up with the newly arrived carriers of the South-Siberian racial type. Deciphering this from the viewpoint of ethnic history, it may be stated that the main component in the composition of the Uzbek people, if to take it as a whole, is indigenous Central Asian population. Turkicisation of a part of it had started in the early medieval period and continued more intensively later. The linguistic process of Turkicisation was going on considerably more widely and intensively than the biological process of Mongolisation. New groups and layers of population were involved in these processes. The complex transformation at different levels of Mongoloid and Turkicised tribes and peoples into closely linked population in close interaction with Europeoid Irano-Tajik speaking ethnic formations was going on. The latter in the ethnic terms led to the complex intermingling of processes going on in different directions; the cases of de-Turkicisation are recorded which more and more complicates the entire picture.

Such are the common trends of ethnic history. Well-documented history of Central Asian culture, particularly of literature fully confirms and elaborates the facts stated above. We need not dwell upon it in detail, more so, as the Tajik-Uzbek literary links have been deeply worked out by specialists in literature.⁷⁹ The

77. Oshanin L.V., 1957a, pp. 34-35.

78. Ginzburg V.V., 1949, pp. 316-331.

79. Braginskii I.S., 1962.

magnificent symbol of friendship of literatures of the two brotherly nations is the life and creative work of two great sons of the Tajik and Uzbek peoples — Jami and Novai — faithful friends and comrades.⁸⁰ Extremely important are the ethnographic materials which help more concretely and realistically to imagine the dynamic of mutual relations between the Tajiks and Uzbeks (in this connection the works of ethnographer B.Kh. Karmysheva) are of great interest and show, what is more important, how closely related are the contemporary popular culture and mode of life of the Uzbeks and Tajiks to the extent that the line of distinction between them is sometimes not visible at all. The neighbourhood extending over many centuries and close interaction as also the existence of the common substratism led to the existence in the Uzbek language of a wide layer of Tajik words and vice versa; the linguists point out the large mutual influence of the grammatical structures of these languages. Tajik-Uzbek bilinguality is widespread.

This although the formation of the Tajik and the Uzbek people took place in different times, the languages of these peoples belonging to different linguistic groups, basic-ethno-anthropological substratum of both the people is common. The historical destiny of these peoples and their cultures are intertwined in the closest manner. For the medieval times, only in some spheres of culture it is possible — on the basis of language — to demarcate the Uzbek and Tajik cultures, inside each of which there was its own tradition, but even in these spheres the mutual penetration is extremely large. The Turkic and Eastern Iranian tribes and peoples, the Tajik, Uzbek and other peoples of Central Asia lived shoulder to shoulder in the same state formations, in the same cities and settlements. They together fought against foreign invaders, together participated in class struggle against their "own" exploiters. Of course, there were cases of collision and ill-will, but the general line of friendship, joint life and labour is absolutely indisputable.

Some ethnic differences which are mentioned here are not at all the basis for contraposition of one set of peoples against the

80. See also Bertels E.A., 1965a.

others. All peoples of Central Asia have made a great contribution to the development of the common civilisation of mankind. Among both the Iranian and Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia there were outstanding figures of science and culture. They are the pride of all peoples of Central Asia.

4. Material and Spiritual Culture

Construction and Architecture

In the 16th century there developed intensive construction work. One of the characteristic feature of this period is the large scale of civil construction. In many cities and along the caravan roads there appeared many bridges, caravan *sarais*, baths and large trading buildings of different types and sizes. Many other large buildings were also constructed: *madrasas*, mosques, mausoleums and *khanakas*. The best of these have been preserved till the present times. However, an idea of the full scale of the construction activities can be had by adding to them those constructions which have not survived. Many such constructions are mentioned in *waqf* grants and other sources.

Bukhara and its outskirts abounded in construction works.⁸¹ It can be said without any exaggeration that the face of the later medieval Bukhara was considerably determined by construction built in the 16th century. During this century the new city wall was constructed which surrounded the outgrown area of this city. By the end of the 16th century Abdallah Khan II (to please the influential and rich sheikhs) included in the city line all their large homesteads.

The typical traits of the architecture of the 16th century are particularly visible in the Bukhara structures and can be analysed on their basis on their basis.⁸² In the religions structures can be

81. Shishkin V.A., 1936.

82. The literature on architecture of the 16th century is vast. There are descriptions of individual monuments and combined works: Voronina V.L., 1950, pp. 93-96; 1951; Davidovich E.A., 1950a, Dmitriev V.I., 1950; Litvinskii B.A., 1953; Masson M.E., 1936; Pugachenkova G.A., 1962, 1968; Pugachenkova G.A. and Rempel L.I., 1958; Ratiya Sh. E. and Voronin L.N. 1936; Frenkel N.I., 1950.

more clearly seen a synthesis of old traditions and new trends; in the social structures new trends are predominant.

From the standpoint of construction planning the 16th century is marked by interesting searches. Especially beautiful are the domed roofs harmoniously blended with the size and purpose of the corresponding structures. In planning can be noted many deviation from the traditional scheme. From the 16th century have come down the authentic sketches of some of the structures for different purposes. These are the standard model projects.⁸³ Among them there is a model project for *khanaka* (Sufi place of worship). Some of the real *khanakas* of 16th century deviated from this project only in details of planning. One of the *khanakas* from the end of 16th century in Faizabad is absolutely new scale planning solution. On its side facades there are open domed galleries which are excellent barrier in the conditions of hot Central Asian climate.

The other example is the *madrasa* of the 16th century. The plan of this *madrasa* was drawn and canonised earlier and some *madrasas* of 16th century merely repeat it. In others there are considerable deviate from the existing scheme which are prompted by practical needs: the architects searched the methods for increasing the number of *hujr*, to create small supplementary premises.

From this point of view are interesting the Bukharan *madrasa* Mir-i-Arab and particularly the *madrasa* of Abdallah Khan II. The plan of the latter is extremely interesting. From inside it is usual rectangular yard surrounded by two storeys of *hujr*. The four *aiwans* in the middle of the four sides of the wall also appear to be usual. In fact, two of them lead to separate complexes of supplementary rooms. One of these complexes is the octahedral internal yard covered by dome and surrounded by *hujras*. The total number of *hujras* in the *madrasa* of Abdallah Khan II is considerably larger than it could have been in the usual planning.

The evolution of the decorative design of the festive structures is very interesting. In the first half of the 16th century the Timurid traditions were alive and developing. Expensive and labour-intensive composite mosaic was widely used; the majolica as in

83. Baklanov N., 1944; Pugachonkova G.A., 1962, pp. 194-210.



Macha Inscription on Stone Mentioning Babur

the 15th century was distinguished by the delicacy of drawing, purity and harmony of the dark blue, white and blue shades; the glazed tiles of panels were decorated by exquisite painting in gold; the relief-blue-golden painting in the Kundal technique — impress by its elegance and richness.

Such uses of décor are found in the monuments of Bukhara, Masjid-i-Kalan, Madrasa Mir-i-Arab, mosques of Baland and Khoja of Zain ad-Din, in the Tashkent mausoleum of Siyunji Khan, etc. The mosques of Baland and Khoja of Zain ad-Din particularly surprise by the richness of their design. For example in the mosque of Baland all the walls are covered with decoration: here are painted in gold, glazed tiles of panels and exquisite composite mosaic of complex drawings and *kundal* paintings.

In the second half of the 16th century the decorative appearance of the monumental structure is changed. More cheap and less laborious decoration finds its wide use. But from the point of view of art it is not at all a decline. The masters often reached



Taki-Saraffon 16th C. General View of Bukhara

beautiful results by very simple means. The domes were ornamented by simple means. The domes were ornamented by simple figure-laying of the bricks in the design of a fur tree are just beautiful. The dome gave an impression of a multi-rays star. Often the drawing of the dome formed the cast *ganch* ribs, the space between which was laid by polished bricks. The favourite material for the decoration of the internal rooms is white and painted alabaster. The technique was different. Sometimes alabaster was put on the walls in two layers (below painted and above white), and then in the upperlayer the drawing was carved. In other cases drawing was carved in one-layer white *ganch* and painted *ganch* was "rubbed" in decorative design. The best sample of such cheap

extremely effective decoration can be found in the *khanaka* of Faizabad and *khanaka* of Bahauddin. In Central Asia of 16th century were built separate monumental structure as well as full ensembles. Some ensembles were grandiose, for example, the ensemble of Masjid-i-kalan and *madarsa* Mir-i-Arab. The Friday mosque Masjid-i-kalan is one of the largest in Central Asia. Around the large rectangular inner yard there are covered galleries: about 300 domes on the square pillars. On the street the mosque opens through the main portal, the main building of the mosque on the opposite side of the yard is crowned by a blue dome on the high cylindrical drum. The *madrasa* Mir-i-Arab situated on the opposite side of the mosque is very small in comparison with it. But the compositional balance is reached very skillfully: the *madrasa* is lifted on a platform, its façade is "made heavy" by a quite massive tower.

Even more grand is the ensemble Char-Bakr near Bukhara. The compositional centre of the ensemble is the three monumental structures on one platform (*khanaka*, mosque and the *aiwan* linking them with *hujras* on sides in two storeys), as if enclosing from three sides the yard-square. The complex is completed by small yards — the family tombs with numerous grave stones.

The ensembles formed by structures meant for social purpose were of another type. On several street crossings were built *charsu*, along the streets were *tims* for trade purposes and caravan *sarais*. This ensemble formed squares, streets and crossings. The largest ensembles of such types in Bukhara were at two places: one on Registan (it has not survived), the other one started on the crossing of two ancient streets of the old Shahrستان of Bukhara and stretched to the north beyond the former Shahrستان (from it three *charsu* and a *tim* of Abdallah Khan II are preserved).

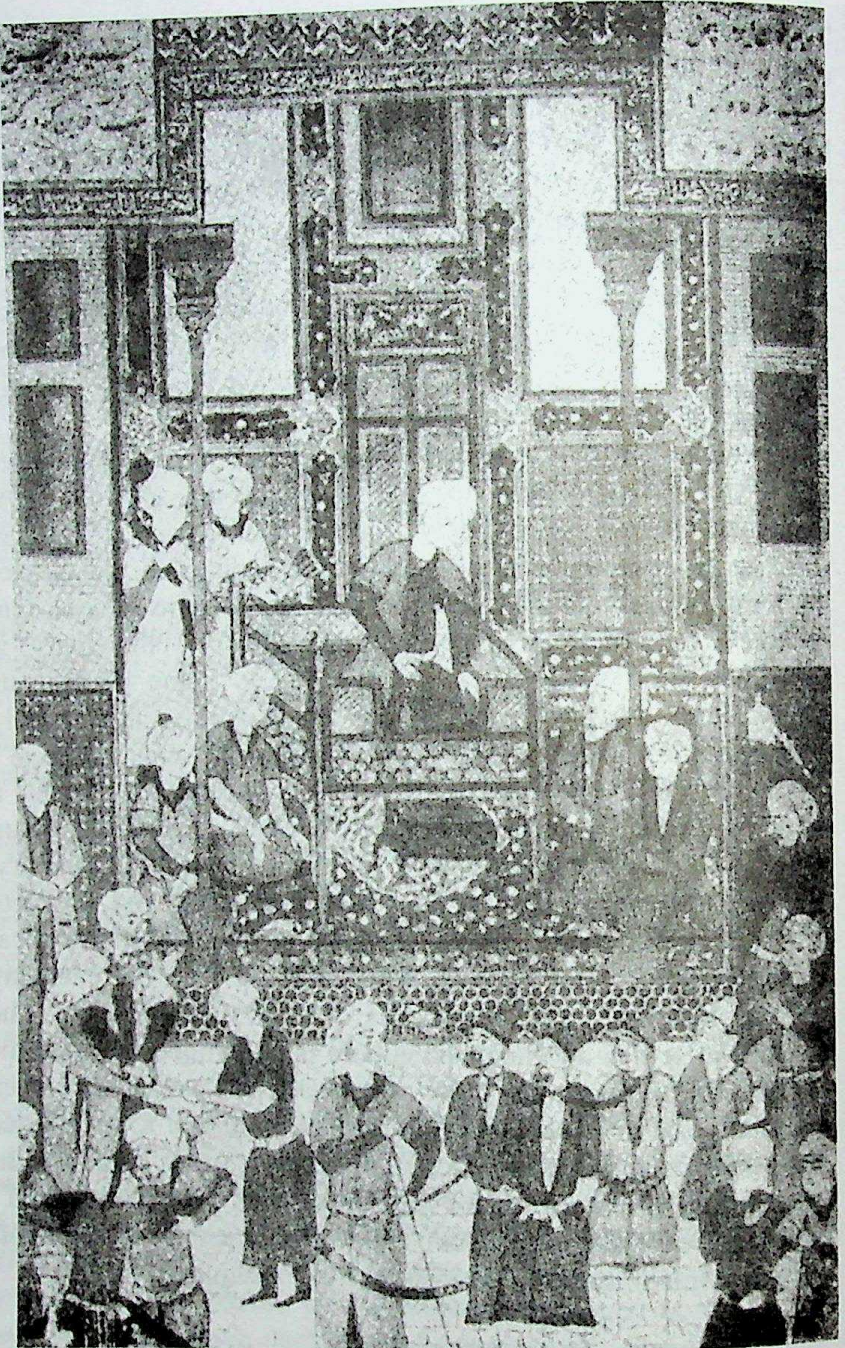
This characterisation of the art of 16th century will not be complete if such applied arts as the carving on stone and wood is not mentioned. In this the masters of the 16th century reached high perfection. Brilliant samples of carving on stone are the numerous grave stones and stellae of the already mentioned complex of Char-Bakr. The grave stones are decorated with ornaments and inscriptions. Their corners are made in the form of columns. Some grave stones in miniature repeat the form of domed mausoleum.

The best samples of carving on wood is the hanging wooden ceiling of the mosque of Baland, the doors of some *madrasas*, etc.

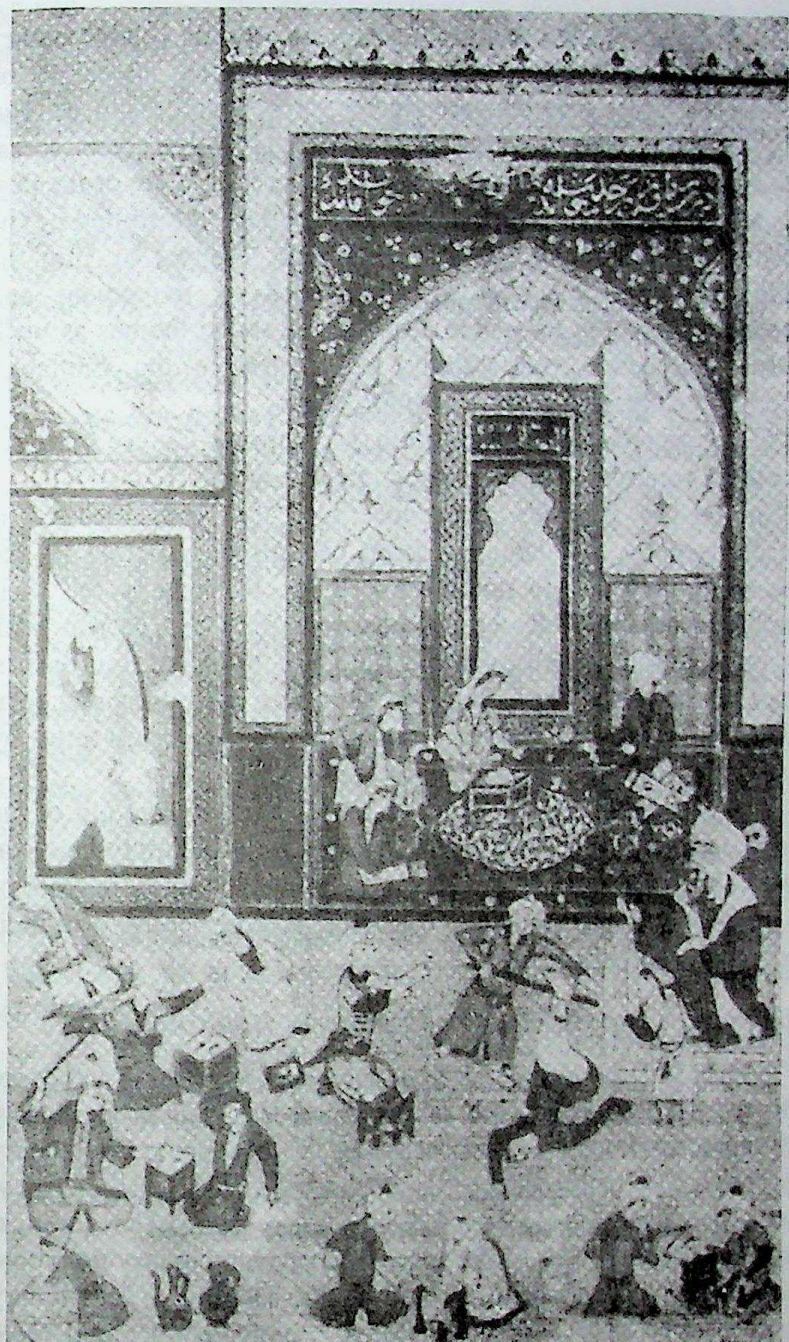
In the 16th century artistic get-up of the manuscripts was highly developed.⁸⁴ At the courts of some powerful Sultans existed libraries which were at the same time workshops for copying and designing of manuscripts. In Central Asia of this period lived and creatively worked excellent calligraphers and miniaturists. Some of them came here from Herat. A considerable number of manuscripts copied in 16th century by local calligraphers and decorated by local miniaturists among whom there were highly talented persons, have come down to us.

Some researchers have concluded that the Central Asian miniature of 16th century became an independent school. G.A. Pugachenkova more elaborately propounds this thesis (although in separate moments it does not seem to be indisputable). She divides the development of this Central Asian miniature school into several stages. The first stage (before the 40s of 16th century) is the time of co-existence of the two styles. Some miniaturists followed the traditions of Bekhzod. Others painted in a slightly other style, less exquisite more laconic and more "ethnographical". The best example of this style are the miniatures in *Fathname* a work devoted to the glorification of the deeds of Sheibani Khan, the manuscript was re-written in the beginning of 16th century. The miniatures illustrate corresponding chapters and concrete historical event, on them are depicted a number of historical persons starting with Sheibani Khan himself. All the everyday details, costumes, environment as a whole are realistic. The mixture of settled and nomadic culture is underlined. In the same manner the illustrations of the other historical works have been executed. It is interesting that in the *Tarikh-i-Abu-al Khair* written in the 16th century the narration of the event is given only upto the rule of Abu Khair, as for the miniatures, they are "modernised": costumes, everyday life detail and environment is of the 16th century while illustrating the events of any antiquity.

84. Galerkina O.I., 1956; Dolinskaya V.G., 1955; 1958; Pugachenkova G.A., 1950; 1956; 1959; Pugachenkova G.A. and Rampel L.I., 1955; Semenov A.A., 1946b and others.



A Miniature from 16th C. Showing the Generous Vazir Freeing a Young Bandit Sentenced to Death, Bukhara



A Miniature from the 16th C. Bukhara

In the second stage beginning with the middle of the century in the works of best miniaturists these two sides appear to be synthesised. Their drawings are elegant, precise and exquisite. But in them a larger place is occupied by psychological analysis, social themes, genre scenes. Portrait is also not forgotten. One of the best manuscripts of this stage is *Shahnama* of Firdausi illustrated by the miniaturist Mohammad-Murad Samarkandi. Painted by him the scenes of battle are very dynamic, full of movement and sometimes tragically tense. He also painted social themes as well. In this connection, particularly remarkable is the miniature depicting the uprising of the ironsmith Kave.

At this time Mahmud Muzahhib, Mohammad Chihre Muhasin and others continue to develop their creative works.

So far as portraits are concerned, the 16th century is characterised by the deviation from canonised depiction of the ruler: their portraits do not idealise them. In them is felt their attempt to not only depict the appearance of the person with maximum possible realism in the frame of miniature, but also to impart him psychological characteristics. As a portrait painter Jalal ad-Din Yusuf was well-known. He was mentioned many times by Wasifi. He also authored brilliant caricatures.

It is important to note that even during the working out of the most banal, so to say "permanent" themes for illustrating classical poetry and fiction, the best masters were not the copy makers of the traditional depiction of these themes, but they infused in their works their individual spirit.

Tajik Fiction and Historical Literature in 16th Century

As already mentioned above literature and science which were highly developed during the rule of Ulug Bek, began to sharply decline soon after his death because of the increasing reactionary influence of Muslim clergy on social life. This decline grew especially during the rule of Sultan Abu Said. The political situation which existed in the beginning of 16th century delivered even greater blow to scientific-literacy life. The role of reactionary Muslim clergy grew extremely which hampered more and more the development of scientific thought. As a result Herat lost its importance as a cultural centre in Central Asia from the beginning

of 16th century. The representatives of science literature and art and culture dispersed in different directions of the country.

In the second half of 16th century grew the importance of Bukhara as a cultural centre. At this time the number of *Madrasas* in Bukhara increased. But here only theology was studied. Nevertheless, to some extent secular literature and sciences also were developing. The author of anthology of Bukharan poetry which was composed in the second half of 16th century, Khoja Hasan Nisari gives a list in one of the three editions of his *Taskara* 250 names of literary and scientific figures during the period of the rule of Ubeidallah Khan and his son. Although a majority of these listed figures did not leave any notable trace in literature and science whatsoever, such a number indicates a considerable revival of literary and scientific thought. For the further development of literature and science only the works of few of them had an importance. Among them particularly important is to note the name of Wasifi.

Zain ad-Din Wasifi was born in 1485 A.D. Upto 1512 A.D. he lived in Herat. After the fall of the Timurids he went over to serve under the Sheibanids and until the 30s of the 16th century was staying in Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent and other cities of Central Asia. Besides poems. Wasifi wrote the most interesting memoirs *Badai al-Wakan* (Amusing Events). In these memoirs he vividly depicts the face of contemporary cities, describes literary traditions in Herat during the period of Navoi and the life of the court poets during the Sheibanids. As a witty and observant writer Wasifi exposes in a satirical form the sins of the prevalent regime in the khanate.⁸⁵

A contemporary of Wasifi was an outstanding poet-historian Kawal ad-Din Binai (born in 1453 A.D. died in 1512 A.D.).⁸⁶ He was born in Herat in the family of a skilful master builder; in his young age he lived in Shiraz for some years, later in Tebriz at the court of Sultan Yakub. In 1491 A.D. he returned to his motherland in Herat. However, as a result of court intrigues which were caused by envy towards him as a talented poet of "low" origin, he was

85. Boldyrev A.N., 1957; Aini S., 1956.

86. About him see: Mirzoev A., 1957.

forced to move to Samarkand in 1495 A.D. There he became a witness to the struggle for power between the last Timurids and the Sheibanids. After the capture of Samarkand by Mohammad Sheibani Khan, he joined his service and along with his troops in 1507 A.D. returned back again to his native Herat. After the death of Sheibani Khan (1510 A.D.) and capture by the troops of Sefids of Herat he settled down in Karshi where two years later he was killed.

Binai wrote poems and fiction and he was an excellent musician. To him belongs the didactical poem *Behruz and Bahram* where he narrates his social and ethnic views. He criticises in it the human weaknesses, exposes social evils, points to the necessity of knowledge and castigates the faults of the rich and elite and the morally degraded avaricious clergy. Notwithstanding the traditional character of the didactical genre Binai brings to his poems new ideas.

The *gazals* of Binai are written in the tradition of 15th century. But even here he comes out as an innovator, bringing autobiographical details and elements of critique of the powerful. Among the historical works of Binai first of all should be mentioned his *Sheibani-nama* and its expanded version — *Futuh-at-i-Khani* written between 1504 and 1510 A.D. These works describe in prose interspersed with poems, the events from the life of Sheibani Khan. In contrast with other historical works of the period, they contain many didactical deviations by which Binai naively thought to influence the conscience of the ruler.

Binai was a typical representative of the middle strata of citizens and from their position criticised the sins of the ruling circles. He was a talented follower of the best traditions of Tajik-Persian classic literature. He vividly reflected in his works the historical situation in Central Asia of the end of 15th beginning of 16th century.

The opinion contained in some works that Binai was an opponent of the development of literature in Uzbek language which was the result of information of historians about his temporary tiffs with Novai is based on a misunderstanding. Binai highly appreciated the Uzbek and Tajik poems of Navai. He remembered him with great warmth in his works after his death

and even himself wrote poems in Uzbek language. There was no "movement against Uzbek language" whatsoever at that time. The life and works of Binai speak of the close friendship between the figures of culture of the two peoples.

The other talented poet of this period is Badr ad-Din Hilali,⁸⁷ who like Binai belonged to the Herat cultural circles. He was born in Astrabad around 1470 A.D. but in 1491 he shifted to Herat for continuation of education, living there for rest of his life. In 1529 A.D. he was accused of professing Shiaism and of writing a satire on Ubeidallah Khan, and on the order of this ruler he was executed. The most important place in the creative works of Hilali is occupied by the *Diwan* of love *gazals* which are highly popular till our days in Tajikistan. The simplicity and perfection of the form and musical structure impart his *gazals* a particular beauty. Besides these to his pen belong three more poems — "*Leili and Majnun*", "*Sifat al-ashikin*" and "*Shahugada*".

The works of the poets of the first half of the 16th century are still not adequately studied. There is no doubt that in them in comparison with the poetry of the 15th century, there is an increase in formalistic trends and decrease in skill is to be found which was the result of the influence of the historical situation.

In the second half of the 16th century after the establishment by Abdallah Khan II of centralised power in Central Asia in comparison with the preceding period there is a noticeable revival. From among the circle of craftsmen there came out outstanding poets. Among them, first of all, must be named Abdar Rahman Mushfiki (1538-1588 A.D.) who wrote in the Tajik language. According to one version Mushfiki was born in Bukhara in a family of craftsmen, lived for some time in Samarkand, became known as a poet and after failure in his attempt to enter the court of Sultan Said moved to Delhi to join the court of Emperor Akbar, an Indian religions reformer whom he glorifies in his two *kasids*. In 1567 A.D. he returned to Bukhara where he was drawn to the court of Abdallah Khan II and became *Malikash-Shora* (the king of poets).

87. About him see: Aini K.; 1957.

Notwithstanding his career at the court and large skill manifested by him in the genre of *kasida* (he is considered to be the last great poet-panegyrist in Central Asia). Mushfiki who hailed from the popular masses was by his calling first of all a lyrical and satirical poet. Especially popular and well-known are his lyrical *gagzals* and excellent *rubais* and his magnificent *kasids* have almost faded. It is true that in some of his *kasids* he dared to point to the ruler the poor conditions of the peasants.

The satirical *diwan* of Mushfiki in which the poet mocks at the different people, mostly poets, became widely known among the people. Mushfiki has acquired fame in the Tajik folklore as a jester. He became a favourite hero of anecdotes (*latifa*) which spread initially among the craftsmen. In them he is depicted as a free thinker, "the trouble maker".

Here is an example of his satirical poem about the division of inheritance where inequality of women is exposed:

*Sister, our father is dead, it is time to divide the property;
I have invited the mullah and you pay to him sister.
The division is according to justice:
godowns of grain are needed more by me,
you take the straw, take it away quickly sister.
Man needs to sleep on soft bed that is why you take the mattress to
my house,
And you should sigh in the night — shed your tears my sister.
Tambur and rings should go to me in the division,
listen how Tambur sounds overcome your grief my sister.
From floor to ceiling space belongs to me, you take the clouds
and the moon is more necessary to you my sister,
you reverse the dead and I sit on the grave;
Buy halwa, make pan cakes and feed my guests sister.⁸⁸*

Historiography also continued to develop in the 16th century. Such detailed historical annals like *Habib as-siyar fi akhbar-i-afraad il-bashar* (The friend of life descriptions in information about outstanding persons of humanity) of Khondemir in which the events of the entire history and biography of outstanding people upto the period of the end of the struggle of Sheibani Khan

88. *Anthologia*, p. 434. See also: Mushfiki 1958.

and Shah Ismail (1510 A.D.). is contained, *Mehman-namai Bukhara* (The book of the guests of Bukhara) of Ruzbekhan, *Abdallahname* (The book of Abdalah) of Hafiz-i-Tanysh are the most important sources for the study of history of Central Asia in the 16th century.

Hafiz-i-Tanysh was also a poet; to him belongs a whole *diwan* of poems which unfortunately is lost.

Chapter 7

Tajik People in the State of Janids (17th-First Half of 18th Century)

1. Political History

Feudal Internecine Wars in 17th Century

Sheibanid ruler Abdallah Khan II died in 1598 A.D. and his son Abdal Mumin ascended the throne. Not being like his father, a big state figure, he could not either curb or attract to his side the hostile groups of feudal tribal elite. In 1598 A.D. Abdal Mumin was killed by a mercenary group of feudals who were against the central government. To Pir Mohammad Khan II, the last of Sheibanids belonged only a small part of the state. He soon after perished in an internecine struggle.

The Sefevids, the Khivan dynasty and the Kazakhs immediately took advantage of conflicts between the Sheibanids. The Sefevid ruler Shah Abbas I captured a considerable part of Khorasan including Herat. Balkh was initially captured by Abdal Amin, the nephew of Abdallah Khan II. He even succeeded in minting coins in his name. But soon the city passed into the hands of the protege of Sefevid Abbas I, Mohammad Ibrahim. Thus even this native territory of the Sheibanids for a short period happened to be in the sphere of influence of the Sefevid state. The Kazakhs captured a number of cities including Tashkent the largest principality of the Sheibanids. From here the Kazakh Sultan Tevekkel raided the central Maverannahr and even captured Samarkand. Only the defeat near Bukhara, the serious injury and

death of Tevekkel stopped the expansion of the Kazakhs.¹ Khwarezm which was captured by Abdallah Khan II with difficulty again gained independence. Who was the first ruler of the Janid dynasty is not quite clear. Feudal aristocracy offered the throne to Jani Mohammad Sultan (Janibek Sultan). He was married to the sister of Abdallah Khan II. He himself originated from those successors of the Chengezids who ruled over the Astrakhan Khanate after the disintegration of the Golden Horde.² When the Astrakhan Khanate was incorporated in Russia Janibeg fled to the Sheibanids. According to written sources Janibeg Sultan declined the throne in favour of his elder son Din Mohammad Sultan. The latter however perished on his way to Bukhara. Then the second son of Janibek Baki-Mohammad-sultan was declared the Khan. In the scientific literature it is affirmed that the first Janid ruler was Baki-Mohammad.³ The numismatic data gives a somewhat different picture. There are a considerable number of coins of Janibek sultan which were minted in Bukhara, Samarkand and Teshkent.⁴ Hence in fact the first nominal ruler was Jani-Mohammad (Janibek).

The only internal political success of the first of the Janids was the return of Balkh. All other attempts to stop the internal feuds and struggle with the nomads did not yield any substantial results.

In 1611 A.D. Imam Kuli-Khan (1611-1642 A.D.) seized the throne from his uncle Wali-Mohamman-Khan. The latter got help from the Sefevids but was defeated and executed. Imam Kuli-Khan succeeded in expanding the borders of the state. He took

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1. For details about the struggles between the different contenders see: Veliaminov-Zernov V.V., 1864; Abduraimov M.A., 1966, pp. 56-57. However, it is necessary to take into account that M.A. Abduraimov totally incorrectly identifies the last of the Sheibanids Pir Mohammad II with Pir Mohammad I, the uncle of Abdallah Khan II (Pir Mohammad I died in 1567 A.D.) and Pir Mohammad II was the cousin of Abdallah Khan II. Besides, the author positively and uncritically follows Mohammad Yusuf Munshi whose information on the history of 16th century is very often confused and doubtful.
 2. This is why in the literature the dynasty of Janids is often called the Ashtarkhanids.
 3. Abduraimov M.A., 1966, p. 64; *Istoriya Uzbekskoi SSR*, 1967, p. 550.
 4. Davidovich E.A., 1964, pp. 12-14; 243-244.

back Tashkent from the Kazakhs.⁵ He was successful in his struggle against other nomads — the Karakalpaks and the Kalmyks who were advancing to the borders of the Janid state.

Imam Kuli-Khan succeeded for some time in holding up the internecine wars. Although the historians of the time exaggerate the prosperity which as if came to the country during the rule of Imam Kuli-Khan, there was some truth in their glorification, particularly if to compare his long rule with the preceding and following period. The sources mention even some irrigation works during the rule of Imam Kuli-Khan.⁶

His brother Nadir-Mohammad-Khan did not rule long. Perhaps his policy affected the interests of the feudal elite and hence as a result of a conspiracy his son Abdal-Aziz-Khan (1645-1680 A.D.) was put on the throne. Nadir-Mohammad had to reconcile himself to the status of the ruler of Balkh. However even here his position was not firm. In struggle for power and principalities the other son of Nadir-Mohammad was drawn who joined either the side of the father or the brother. Thus began the ruination of the richest region of Balkh. Nadir-Mohammad appealed for help to Shahjehan the ruler of the dynasty of the great Mughals of India. Shahjehan sent his two sons with a large army with the purpose of merely capturing Balkh. Nadir-Mohammad fled, the conquerors were ruining the region for two years, the population suffered and fled, famine started. The military actions between the conquerors and Abdal Aziz who at last arrived here ended in the victory of the latter. But it led to the extreme impoverishment of the population.

Soon Balkh again but not for long came into the hands of Nadir Mohammad. But this did not bring peace to the ruined region. First Abdal Aziz sent his brother Subhan-kuli-khan against his father who captured the city and then sent new troops to take away the city from his brother. Subhan-kuli-khan withstood the siege but around Balkh and in the region everything was annihilated and ruined.

5. It is true that the struggle around Tashkent was going on and the owner of the city was only nominally subordinate to Imam Kuli-Khan (Abduraimov M.A., 1966, pp. 112-115).

6. Abduraimov M.A., 1966, pp. 267-268.

All these inter-dynastic discords were used by the Khivans. Their numerous openly plunderious raids ruined several regions of Central Mavarannahr. They even reached Bukhara and once captured a part of the city. But the active participation of all the citizens helped in driving them away.

Taking advantage of all this disorder Subhan-kuli-khan(1680-1702) captured power. During his rule the raids of the Khivans continued. They even captured Samarkand. The aristocracy of the city recognised the Khivan Khan for which later the population of the city was literally ruined by a huge contribution taken from them by Subhan-kuli-khan. He understood that the raids of the Khivans would not stop unless his own regent was put there. Skillfully acting through the local aristocracy Subhan-kuli-khan at last succeeded in getting Khiva recognise his power.

But in rest of the matters his rule was not successful. Internecine feuds had long lost their inter-dynastic character. The heads of the Uzbek tribes gained great powers. Subhan-kuli himself in some cases elevated some of them. For example, when his son tried to hold on to Balkh and was killed by the order of his father, Subhan-kuli-khan appointed the ruler of this region (which for long was considered to be the principality of the heirs to the throne) one of the Amirs from the tribe of Yuz.

During Subhan-Kuli-Khan's rule, Mohmud-bii atalik⁷ from the tribe of Katagan rose into prominence. Subhan-Kuli-Khan sought his help several times against the Khivans. It was he to whom he entrusted the work of suppressing the rebel Amirs in the Balkh region and then appointed him as a regent of Balkh and Badakhshan.⁸

Badakhshan at this time was actually an independent Kingdom of Yarbek, the founder of the Independent dynasty of Badakhshan Mirs. Relations between Badakhshan and Bukhara started deteriorating in 1650 A.D. After capturing the valley of Kunduz the Bukharan Khans continued to raid the territory of Badakhshan.

7. Atalik was the fifteenth in hierarchy and the highest rank in the Bukharan Khanate. He occupied the first place after the Khan and actually performed the functions of the first Minister.

8. Mohammad Yusuf Munshi, 1956, p. 153.

The Badakhshan people elected Yarbek as their Mir (ruler) and under his leadership gave successful resistance to the aliens. A direct cause which led to a military campaign by Mahmud Bii was the refusal of Yarbek to allow Bukharans to mine rubies in Badakhshan.⁹

The expedition of Mahmud Bii with the aim of complete subjugation of the entire Badakhshan failed. His troops several times laid siege to the central city of Badakhshan — Faizabad (Juzgun) but could not take it. At last Mahmud Bii had to conclude an agreement with Yarbek according to which the latter undertook to give to the Bukharan Khan the produce of the ruby mines of Badakhshan which was extracted during two years and recognise himself as a vassal of Bukharan Khanate. In reality Yarbek remained unrestrained ruler of Badakhshan and governed it fully independently.

The ruler of Balkh, Mahmud Bii was becoming more and more independent and less and less obeyed Subhan-Kuli-Khan. Subhan-Kuli-Khan, fearing the extraordinary power of Mahmud Bii, succeeded in expelling him from Balkh. The grandson of Khan Muhammad-Mukim-Khan was appointed the ruler of Balkh.

Subhan-Kuli-Khan became famous by overcoming the resistance of local feudals. The incessant wars fought by him led to the increased oppression of the toiling masses. For waging wars with the rebellious feudals large means were required and Subhan-Kuli-Khan demanded that taxes from the people should be realised seven years ahead. Under these conditions the introduction of such a system laid an unbearable burden on the people. Bribery and misuse of power ruined the working people more and more.

Growing Feudal Break up: Internal Policy of Ubeidallah Khan

The short-term rule of Ubeidullah Khan (1702-1711) was marked by an extremely tense struggle between the central power and the feudals. Ubeidullah Khan was the last of the Janids who strove to put an end to autocracy of the feudals and to strengthen the central power. The personality of Ubeidullah Khan and his internal policy

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159. In the information about ruby mines in Badakhshan the high quality of spinel is mentioned.

undeservedly for long did not attract attention. In literature there is a firmly established characteristic with which it is difficult to agree: Ubeidullah Khan "showed a tendency towards absolutism, extremely presumptuous and arrogant, lacking the skill to get along with the people, he in reality turned out to be a puppet in the hands of the Amirs."¹⁰ Such an impression is formed as the written sources of that period were dedicated entirely to a detailed description of internecine feuds, but about the events of other type there were only casual references and indirect hints.

For characterising the internal policy of Ubeidullah Khan more information is contained in the *Ubeidullah nama* of Mohamman Amin-i-Bukhara.¹¹ A comparison of these materials with numismatic data convinces that his attempt to centralise the state was the most purposeful for the entire period of the rule of the dynasty of the Janids. It was based on a clear understanding of peculiarities in the arrangement of class forces; not always consistent, but decisive and sometimes flexible. If it did not fail, it was mainly due to the fact that for centralisation of the state there were no objective pre-conditions.

From Subhan-Kuli-Khan Ubeidullah Khan received a hard legacy. The Amir — the heads of Uzbek tribes — felt themselves completely independent. As a rule they were the rulers of just those cities and regions which were allocated for feeding their tribe. There they bought land and were the big landowners and conducted themselves as full masters. Many of them taking support from their tribes completely disobeyed the central power. They fought among themselves, formed groups and sometimes openly declined to recognise the power of the Bukharan Khan. Ubeidullah Khan possessed neither means nor adequate army to fight against separatism of the feudals. He had to take support of one group of Amirs for struggle against the others. Indeed he did not always succeed in implementing his decisions. Often the

10. *Istoriya Narodov Uzbekistana*, T. 2, 1947, p. 90.

11. These materials have been analysed by historians though not always valued and understood adequately. See: Chekhovich O.D., 1954, pp. 68-69; 1959, p. 218 onwards; Davidovich E.A., 1964, pp. 148-156; Abduraimov M.A., 1966, p. 136 onwards.

Amirs on whose support he depended refused on various pretexts to join his campaign. The Bukharan group was defeated more than once. Sometimes during the military campaign a section of the Amirs just deserted with their troops and even crossed over to the side of the enemy. Ubeidullah Khan was in a very difficult situation and he had to manoeuvre in different ways. He tried to make use of the Amirs to weaken each other and displayed in this a great inventiveness. But this was not the single main direction of his attempts. Separate facts collected together show that he undertook a whole system of measures directed from one side to strengthening of his own economic base and from the other to the economic and political weakening of the Amirs. The class of feudals was not united. By this time, there clearly appeared two main groups: one was the Amirs and feudal top-brass of the Uzbek tribes, the other was the old elite, bureaucracy, feudals, landowners, the top of urban traders and craftsmen.

The internecine wars of the Amirs ruined not only the common people: they also hit the interests of this second group of the class of feudals who were therefore interested in the strengthening of central power. However, this group of feudals whose support Ubeidullah Khan could take was not monolithic and united. Some of its representatives at different intervals of time supported the Amirs, particularly in the regions where the Amirs were powerful. The toiling people of the cities and villages badly ruined by internecine wars rose many times in support of the Central power against the rebel Amirs. Such was the picture in general.

Ubeidullah Khan kept this in mind though he was not always consistent. He took support first of all from that group of feudals who were interested in strengthening of central power and ending the internecine strifes. An extremely important component of his internal policy was his attempt to create a new apparatus of officials from the people who were obliged to him for their promotion. A historian of this period Mohammad Amin-i-Bukhari directly testifies that Ubeidullah Khan attracted to administration the children of craftsmen and traders, people of lower origin, and without kith and kin.¹²

12. Mir Mohammad Amin-i-Bukhari, pp. 220-223.

The following episode was not accidental. When the Bukharan troops reached Balkh Ubeidullah Khan issued a special order that the crops of the inhabitants should not be trampled and no harm caused to the population. Making a stop in one settlement Ubeidullah Khan paid for the crops damaged by the troops. Here an attempt to win over to his side the common population is clearly visible. As already mentioned, in the 17th-18th centuries the popular masses of Central Asia became extremely active. It was to the advantage of the Khan to have them as his ally in the struggle against separatist Amirs.

How the measures of Ubeidullah Khan were depicted? His relations with the Amirs were hostile; his struggle against them was open. This is confirmed by the historical sources. Of course, he rewarded those Amirs by money, gifts and land on whom he leaned for support. But on the whole he started an onslaught against them along economic lines even using the small means. Interesting example is that he introduced in the system the cell of "gifts" to his political opponents charging for them ten times more. According to one source "the unfortunate Uzbeks felt suffocated."¹³ But more substantial were his attempts to liquidate a part of *tankho* — conditional land grants in favour of nomadic Uzbeks. Interestingly that he resorted to a very shrewd manoeuvre which was prompted perhaps by the practical impossibility of merely snatching the *tankho*. He gave away (that is, of course sold away) these lands in full ownership to his retinue and officials. From this it is evident that in his policy he took the support of that group of feudals which was interested in strengthening his power and influence. Besides, this method of confiscation of *tankho* aggravated the contradictions between the two groups of feudals.

One more source for augmenting the dividends of the treasury was seen by Ubeidullah Khan in the liquidation of the 'whitening', that is, the tax immunity from *milki* lands. This was a bold and perhaps risky measure as it harmed the interests of that group of feudals whose support he was taking. Apparently it was done selectively. It is known that he deprived from tax immunity the largest 'spiritual' feudals.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

Ubeidullah Khan also took measures for the development of international trade. It is true that to some extent this harmed the interests of local traders. The Bukharan traders bought foreign goods at a wholesale level but usually paid only afterwards following the sales. This was highly inconvenient for foreign traders. Besides according to the Shariat the sold goods could be returned during three years. During the rule of Ubeidullah Khan the government took the side of foreign traders. This was aimed to increase the inflow of foreign goods and accordingly the dividends of the treasury.

Ubeidullah Khan had placed high hopes upon monetary reform.¹⁴ Mir Mohammad Amin-i-Bukhara was not adequately informed when he wrote that the reason for conducting this reform was the full absence of money in the treasury even for necessary expenses. Some historians accepted uncritically and repeated such an explanation for reform. Actually Ubeidullah Khan by the time of introducing the reform had perhaps accumulated in the treasury large sums of money through other different ways. The Janid rulers during the 17th century constantly resorted to the minting of coins as a source of revenue. Decreasing and increasing the standard of the coins, they by the end of 17th century led the minting of coinage to the point when the coins contained only 22.5 per cent of silver. Ubeidullah Khan on the contrary minted coins of quite high standard containing 35 per cent of silver. During seven years he did not use the change in standard of coins as a source of revenue notwithstanding the situation he faced. It can be explained only in two ways: on one side he did not spoil the coins because it would have affected adversely the interests of that group of the class of feudals on whom he leaned for his support; on the other side, as the content of the reform of 1708 A.D. shows, he "protected" this source by not emptying it on small things in order to derive at once a big revenue at an appropriate time.

In 1708 the coins present in the treasury were reminted: from every coin four coins were minted each containing only 9% of silver. After that it was declared that from now on new coins (9%

14. Davidovich E.A., 1954, pp. 135-147.

of silver and old ones (35% of silver) were equal in their purchasing power. In other words Ubeidullah Khan desired in one go to enrich the treasury four times. This had never happened before for usually the silver standard was decreased by only 5-10 per cent. By taking such an unusual step Ubeidullah Khan perhaps thought that he would have enough resources for a more effective struggle against the Amirs and that is why it was worth taking a risk. He should have understood that he was taking a risk because by this reform he was robbing, even if temporarily and with good intentions, not only his enemies but also his allies: the people, trading-feudal top of society, all those who were interested in monetary trade and had money.

In Bukhara trade stopped, traders and craftsmen closed their shops and workshops. The ordinary citizens found themselves in an awful situation. There was nothing in the bazars to buy.

This led to general discontent. The crowds of citizens, mostly the poor people, approached the residence of the Khan shouting and threatening. The uprising of the people was suppressed and several persons were executed. But it was not a complete defeat because Ubeidullah Khan was forced to compromise and change the content of the reform. From now on (and it lasted for many years even after the death of Ubeidullah Khan) the old coin was made equal not to one but to two new ones. In other words, the treasury of Ubeidullah Khan did not increase four times but only twice. This reform did not bring the desired dividends but it only incited against Ubeidullah Khan his former allies. That is why no qualitative change in the internal policy could be achieved.

After this, struggle and mutual distrust and hostility increased. One of the conspiracies ended in killing of Ubeidullah Khan in 1711 A.D., plundering of his treasury and all his property. During the last but one representatives of the dynasty of Janids, Abu-l Faiz-Khan (1711-1747 A.D.) the central power lost completely its significance and the Khanate broke up into separate independent regions. The power almost completely went into the hands of the Atalyk, Mohammad-Hakim-bii, who was supported by the elite of the Manget tribe.

Due to discontent among the elite on account of the autocracy of the Atalyk, Mohammad-Hakim-bii was deposed in Karshi. The Russian envoy Florio Beneveni writes about full anarchy at the Court of Abu-l Faiz-Khan at this time. Everything was managed by the high officials who strove to make a fortune. They seized the monopoly of trade in the bazars of Bukhara and looted people freely.

This "general strife" (the expression of F. Beneveni) of Khans between themselves and full autocracy of feudals speak for itself about the hardship which the peoples of Central Asia were going through during the period of the rule of the Janids.¹⁵

2. Socio-Economic Relations

State of Economy. Land Rent. Taxes in Cities

The central power as is evident from what has been stated earlier was not a serious real power. The Janids had two official centres — Bukhara and Balkh. In Bukhara ruled the Khan himself, and in Balkh, there was his heir to the throne or the big military commander — the Atalik. As a rule Janid Khans were entirely dependent on the feudal-tribal elite who actually administered the country. In comparison with the Sheibanid period the rights of the Ataliks grew extremely as well as the power and autocracy of the Uzbek tribal elite: the administration was entirely in their hands. They occupied the most important posts in the administrative apparatus.¹⁶

Intensification of feudal reaction, political disintegration, incessant internecine wars and depopulated cities, ruination of the settled population subjected to continuous extortions by different feudals who robbed oasis and trade caravans — all this was characteristic of the period under study. This led in the 18th century to the great economic decline and stagnation, particularly in the central regions of Central Asia.

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15. Formally the dynasty of the Janids ceased to exist in 1785 A.D. but the last Khan Abu-l Gazi was simply a stooge.
 16. For the administrative system in the Janid state see: Bart'old V.V., 1964 p. 388 onwards; Semenov A.A., 1948a, p. 137 onwards.

Agriculture was in a state of ruination. The irrigation system was declining.¹⁷ There was an acute shortage of grains. "And grains in Bukhara, Balkh and Khiva they sow very little", wrote an eyewitness, envoy of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, Boris Pazukhin, "and over the years very little bread is left in some homes."¹⁸ Famine spread over entire regions and districts became a common occurrence.

The official norm of feudal land rent remained as before (0.3 of the crop) but practically it was much more. Rent was collected in advance for several years or was arbitrarily increased. For example, during the rule of Subhan-Kuli-Khan it was raised seven-fold. In addition to this there were many other taxes and levies and awful abuse of power by the officials. Malikho writes that Subhan-Kuli-Khan in whole of his state, particularly, Samarkand, every year collected seven times more taxes. If one was supposed to pay one *tanga*, from him were exacted seven *tangas*. The officials of the diwan and landowners even more.¹⁹ It may be noted that the tax-rent (*maluji Khat*, *Kharaj*) was increasing not only from the state lands. Corresponding the state share of rent from *milki* lands also grew. It was usually called *milkana*. According to one source the burden of the *milkana* was so heavy that the owners of *milki* lands gave them away free but nobody wanted to take them even free. Here the reference is perhaps not so much related to the feudals as to that group of peasantry who still preserved *milki* lands. The process of reduction of peasant *milki* lands and of this comparatively privileged group of peasantry was visible in the 16th century also. But during the Janids, there took place their total ruination, particularly in the central regions of Central Asia.

The tax burden was so heavy that the peasantry was bankrupt to such an extent that by the beginning of 18th century the government dared to increase rents and introduce new ones. In *Ubeidallahnama* it is directly mentioned that this means of obtaining dividends for the treasury was cut off as it threatened to create large turmoils.²⁰

17. Abduraimov, M.A., 1966, p. 260.

18. Pazukhen B., 1894, p. 61.

19. Mirzoev A.M., 1954, p. 17.

20. *Mir Mohammad Amin-i-Bukhari*, p. 157.

The onslaught against the peasantry on the whole was going on in all "directions". The peasant economy was ruined not only by plunder during the internecine wars but also by unbearable taxes. There was also going on a deep social process of extinction of the communal order, reduction of the group of peasants-communards, increase in the group of peasant lease-holders. Above it was mentioned that the comunard peasant had the advantage of not requiring lease of new land every two-three years; he had the right to cultivate the land all his life (his successors as well).

Craftsmen also were subjected to various types of oppression by large and small feudals. The crafts and trade were burdened with high arbitrary custom duties and all kinds of levies, compulsory gifts to the khans and amirs. Because of the feudal arbitrariness and absence of even smallest guarantees for the private property of craftsmen and traders there was going on depopulation of even old urban centres.

The development of mining industry was hampered by prohibitory measures on account of the fear of the khans that mining of ore deposits could cause raids by greedy neighbours.

Concentration of Land-ownership in the Hands of the Feudals

Along with this at this period the concentration of lands and wealth in hands of individual big feudals and influential sheikhs was going on. Particularly large landowners during the Janids became the amirs of the Uzbek tribes. Here are some examples: from the legal documents it is evident that a large landed estate was owned by Yalangtush-bii, especially in the Samarkand region where he was the ruler for many years (in first half of the 18th century). The Janid khans additionally "exempted" his lands from the state land-rent. A large tract of land was collected by Allaberdi-bii and his son Allaer-bii; they also tried to concentrate their possessions of land at one place for the sake of which they resorted to the exchange of lands.²¹ The Juibar Sheikhs remained large land magnates. In the complex situation of that period when

21. Chekhovich O.D., 1954b, pp. IX-XII.

the central power could not patronise them as it was during the Sheibanids and the strengthened tribal elites had an eye on their wealth, Juibar Sheikh Taj-ad-Din even then multiplied his already colossal landed estate.²²

The elite and the military commanders continued to receive grants which were quite often called *suyurgals* and *tankho*. Pazukhin notes that "certain villages were marked out for the grant to the military and persons of different ranks."²³ During the rule of the Janids besides this more often and in large number were granted for the service not only state lands but also state shares of rent from the *milki* lands. It created such complicated mutual relations between different people who had rights on different shares of rent from *milki* lands that in the 17th-18th centuries, as researchers have correctly noted, even the terminology in the legal documents underwent a change. In the deeds of purchase, *wakf* grants, etc. while describing *milki* lands the stress was on the exact definition of the share of rent which the buyer or the *wakf* institution was supposed to receive.²⁴

But concentration of landed possessions was going on not through grants alone. The typical process of this period is the concentration of landownership by big feudals through purchase of land. Some feudals "rounded off" their lands to the extent that they became owners of entire districts. It is indicative that in the trade turnover state lands figured more and more. This is borne out by legal documents.²⁵ The scarcity of funds in the treasury compelled the Bukharan Khans to resort to such sales and grants more often. This was registered in the offices of the *kazis* in the same manner as during the 16th century.

It is characteristic that the division of *milki* lands between the state and the owners — private persons (that is, transforming the *milki* lands partially into state and partially in *milki-i-khalis* lands now became more intensive. This is understandable. An increase of the norm of exploitation by the state made the condition of feudal *milk-dar* extremely disadvantageous. He preferred to have

22. Ivanov P.P., 1954, pp. 68-80.

23. Pazukhin B., 1894, p. 61.

24. ITN, II, 2, p. 37.

25. Chekhovich O.D., 1954b, pp. XV-XVIII.

less quantity of *milki-i-khalis* lands and wanted more rights in land. Here his dividends were not dependent on how much will the state exact from the peasant and will be able to take his share of rent from the bankrupt farming.

Hence for the 17th-18th centuries the following is typical: the concentration of privately owned and grant lands in the hands of big feudals, especially in the hands of the elite of the Uzbek tribes, increased norms of exploitation of peasantry, the mass bankruptcy of peasant-*milkdars*, the lessening of the group of the peasant-communards, the growth of the category of privately owned lands *milki-i-khalis*, more intensive "disintegration" of feudal *milki*s, the sale of state lands to feudals, the mass distribution of state and *milki* lands (the state-owned shares of the *milki* lands) in conditional possession, the grant of state lands, etc. The result was a perpetual shortage of money in the treasury of the khan as the main source of revenue — land tax-rent — gradually gave to treasury less and less till it was reduced to nothing because of the above-mentioned reasons. Different sources testify to this directly or indirectly. Let us give evidence of two eye-witnesses who visited Bukhara in different times and who were at once struck by this situation. B. Pazukhin (1669 A.D.): "And the kings have very little money in their state treasury because all the villages are known to be granted to the military and to people of different ranks, and for the king's treasury the duty is collected from the mint house; and for everyday expenditure less and less money is left over the years." F. Beneveni writes, "The Khan says that he has great ideas but no power to implement them because of scarcity of funds in the treasury which has been emptied by the Uzbeks many times and there are no revenues left to replenish it."²⁶ This is the economic basis of increased weakening of the central power and of increased strengthening of the independence of big feudals especially Amirs — the heads of Uzbek tribes.

The role of the ecclesiastical feudals too had increased. Particularly in different periods the *dervish* leaders — sheikhs — took power into their hands (this happened in Fargana and Tashkent).

26. Pazukhin B., 1894, p. 61; Benevini F., 1853, p. 373.

Popular Movement

Unbearable oppression and feudal exploitation, internecine wars, destruction and famine, greatly increased the resentment of popular masses. In different places popular revolts and agitations constantly broke out.²⁷ During the rule of Abd al-Aziz-Khan according to his contemporary poet, Saiido Nasafi, in the village of Dakhbid, near Samarkand, an uprising broke out. The magnitude of this popular movement was so large that Abd al-Aziz himself arrived here with large troops and after suppressing the uprising burnt down and destroyed Dakhbid. In the same way during the rule of Subhan-Kuli-Khan and his successor popular agitations broke out continuously which were sometimes used by individual feudals for achieving their personal goals. For example, once when Subhan-Kuli-Khan approached Balkh the entire population heroically defended the city for 21 days which was owned by Mahmud Bii Atalik and upheld against the Bukharans.²⁸ All strata of society were united in this case as they understood that the seizure of the city by the Khan would lead to ruthless looting and slaughter. But more often the people supported the central power because feudal wars and internecine conflicts ruined the population of cities and villages both.

One of the biggest and victorious uprisings was the agitation of people in Gissar in 1703 A.D. It started with the war between two feudals: Mohammad-Rahim-Bii with Bukharan army set out against Utkan, who owned one of the fortresses on the territory of Gissar region. Having failed, the Bukharan army began to retreat leaving the population of Gissar at the mercy of Utkan. Then the people of Gissar appealed to the Bukharan amirs demanding protection as soon as the feudal conflicts broke out. The Amirs treated the people's messengers rudely. One of them even pounced upon them with sword and the messengers picked up stones and sticks. As a chronicler writes, "Bukharan amirs hastily left the fortress of Gissar and their troops being horrified and in a state of

27. Chekhovich O.D., pp. 63-71; Abduraimov M.A., 1956; pp. 64-72; Chekhovich O.D., 1959a, pp. 221-223; Davidovich E.A., 1964, pp. 135-145; ITN, II, 2, pp. 44-47; *Istoriya Uzbekskoi SSSR*, 1967, pp. 579-580.

28. Mohammad Yusuf Munshi, 1956, p. 162.

fear and panick before the people in revolt also followed them. Then the population of Gissar, Yuzs of the Shadi clan, started looting the tents of hastily retreating Bukharans. In the fortress something incredible was going on as if the day of judgment had arrived.”²⁹ In this case the interests of the indigenous settled population of the Gissar region and the Uzbek tribe Yuz coincided; the people actively came out for stoppage of feudal wars on its territory. The Yuzs willingly supported the victorious action of the people and completed the defeat of the Bukharans.

The uprising in Bukhara of 1714 A.D. was of a different character. The group of feudals from the tribe Keneges headed by Atalik Ibrahim tried to penetrate into the arch to carry out a palace coup. The people rose in defence of the state power. In the city barricades were constructed and the Khan succeeded in completely defeating the enemies only due to the active help of the people.³⁰

Earlier in 1708 the people of Bukhara came out against Ubeidallah-Khan when he declared his monetary reform. Resentment spread over different strata of society and in the beginning took the form of passive resistance: the shops and workshops were closed, trade stopped, it was impossible to buy anything in the market. In the second stage it got transformed into an open uprising of the poor. According to a chronicler of that period Mohammad Amin-i-Bukhari, the uprising was suppressed, several persons were hanged, the reform was fully implemented and everybody reconciled to it.³¹ For sometime historians took this biased observation uncritically. A comparison of action and narrative sources convinced that this agitation on the whole was considerably successful. It scared the government and compelled it to considerably change the content of the reform.³²

In the first half of the 18th century the popular movements were so frequent that even the court historians were compelled to mention them even though in a biased and covert manner. Besides the above-mentioned uprisings the agitations of people

29. Mir Mohammad Amin-i-Bukhari, 1957, p. 68.

30. Abdrahaman Tali, 1959, pp. 60-63.

31. Mir Mohammad Amin-i-Bukhari, 1957, p. 159.

32. Davidovich E.A., p. 140 onwards.

in 1713-1714 A.D. in Bukhara, in 1713 in Samarkand, in 1719 in Balkh, in 1746 in Tashkent etc. are known. Despite distortion by court chroniclers of the fact of popular resentment, it is beyond doubt that in conditions of feudal reaction and tyranny the Tajik and Uzbek popular masses rose in struggle against the regime of inequality and tyranny, against feudal internecine conflicts.

Crafts, Trade and Monetary Turn-over

The conditions for development of crafts, internal and external trade in the state of the Janids were most unfavourable and were worsening along with the increasing internecine feudal wars. Some of the cities and entire regions were subjected to such plunder and destruction that they could not recover for a long time. But the people did not lose their technical skills: it is not accidental that in Bukhara alone, poet Saiido Nasafi, counted more than 200 types of crafts. The economy destruction which resulted from internecine wars, raids of the Khivans, onslaughts by foreign troops and nomads hampered the development of normal commodity production and trade. Poverty famine, destruction — all this decreased the number of necessary goods. The same Saiido Nasafi who in his old age started weaving eloquently writes in his poem about the absence of customers, about full stagnation in trade towards the end of the 17th century³³: During stagnation in trade, my goods lost their value. For long I am ashamed of my shop. Everytime when I bring my produce to the market. I have to drag a customer by his sleeve and flap.

The situation worsened even more in the first half of 18th century. The valley of Zeravshan was completely ruined by incessant raids of Kazakhs which lasted for seven years (1723-1730). An awful famine began, surviving people fled to the outskirts, Bukhara and Samarkand were deserted.³⁴ Those cities and regions which were predominantly situated in the far-flung corners of the state were in a better shape as they did not become the constant arena of feudal wars, raids by Khivans and nomads.

33. Mirzoev A.M., 1954, pp. 77-78.

34. Chekhovich A.D., 1954, pp. 72-73.

On their development the ruination of the central regions of the state had a favourable impact because the craftsmen from larger trade and crafts centre fled there in search of security and work.

For the development of crafts and trade the general state of monetary economy and the government policy on minting and circulation of coins were also unfavourable.³⁵ To all hardships due to machinations in mintage of coins which laid a heavy burden on crafts and trade already in the 16th century, was now added the intensive damage to the silver coins. The coins were minted by fusion of silver and copper and the quantity of copper was growing more and more. The treasury everytime during reduction of standard of coins gained more profit and the people suffered big losses. The population fought actively against the damage to the coins, here the interests of all strata of society coincided. The people fought for "good" coins — stable, definite always equal and of high standard. In the 17th century this struggle was fought with alternate success: sometimes the population was victorious and the government temporarily raised the standard of coins. But in the last quarter of 17th century high standard coins were not minted at all. Although the people continued their struggle for "good" coins but their victories were rare and less significant: the content of silver did not go beyond 35% and later in 1708. Ubeidullah Khan decreased the content of silver in coins upto 9% which caused agitation by people who were partially victorious.

But the government exacted gains from the coinage deal not only through this direct method. Even a more heavy burden was caused through rate manipulations. As in the 16th century all the silver coins during the Janids were divided into "old" and "new". At any time the government could declare the "new" coins as "old" ones and the purchasing power of old coins in the market was on the whole dependent upon their standard. For example, the coins having 60% content of silver after being declared equal to the "new" circulated at a compulsory rate as if "new" were of a high standard. As soon as the "new" ones were declared "old" they lost at once 40 per cent of their purchasing power, that is the population

35. Davidovich E.A., 1964, pp. 100-134.

lost 40 per cent. In other words during the 17th century the norm of exploitation through coinage deal extremely grew which caused even greater bankruptcy of the traders and craftsman than that about which Jenkinson wrote in the middle of 16th century.

All this clearly shows that even though the craftsmen possessed all technical skills, the general conditions were such that their volume of production deceased sharply, especially from the end of the 17th century. The assortment of goods also decreased. Of course, those types of crafts which produced goods for export were in a slightly better position: the external demand stimulated the production even in such hard conditions. In this connection particularly important were strong and expanding trade relations with Russia.

The Russian government was extremely interested in expanding trade with Central Asia and created for it favourable conditions. The Central Asian traders were gradually given rights to trade in all the cities. Most advantageous was trade through Siberia — here the Central Asian traders were charged a very small duty and certain goods were not at all subjected to taxes. After the foundation of Orenburg in 1735 A.D. to attract Central Asian traders for a certain period of time it was declared a duty-free zone.

The Central Asian traders carried with them mainly cotton textiles and related items. The custom records of Siberian order and Astrakhan show what a large quantity of goods were exported to Russia. From detailed list given in these records it is also evident that in Central Asia of that period different kinds of cotton fabrics were produced. For example, there are mentioned different kinds of fabrics — *zendeni* (*sebendi*, *diubendi*, *purbeni*, *burmeti*), various kinds of printed fabrics, *biaz*, etc.

According to some data the production of silk fabrics at this time was decreasing both in volume and perhaps in assortment. There was shortage of raw silk (its export was banned). The deterioration of conditions of life reduced the number of persons engaged in silk production and the number of consumers of silk and expensive silk items.

The items of exports were leather, some kinds of furs, carpets etc. The assortment of goods of the so-called "Khan trade" which

were exported by the envoys-traders was quite large. The volume of the export of all goods which had great demand in the Russian state was large. Hence their production in Central Asia was in a better condition.

The production of weapons and of metallic items was on the whole flourishing. These were exported abroad. The samples of ceramic of that period are preserved until the present times. Besides ordinary and simple the exquisitely designed glazed utensils were also produced. The applied arts in the 17th century were also not ignored. Production of mosaics and majolics, *ganch* and wooden carvings were at a high level. By the 18th century the demand for the high artistic goods of applied arts nearly stopped.

So far as the foreign trade is concerned, trade with Russia was more significant.³⁶ It was already noted what kind of Central Asian goods were exported in this direction. It is necessary to add that the Central Asian traders were also intermediaries: They exported not only their own but also foreign goods, especially Indian. This in turn stimulated some increase in import into Central Asia of goods from India although the demand of local population for imported goods must have declined due to the already mentioned situation.

The new element in the Russian Central Asian trade was not only increase in volume of exports and imports but also the more active participation in it of Russian traders. Russian traders or their salesmen now lived in various cities of Central Asia for two-three years, brought Russian goods and exported Central Asian goods to Russia. Among the Russian goods in Central Asia were in big demand not only the luxury items (expensive furs, leather, broad cloth, etc.) but also various household articles and items of daily use: wooden utensils, fancy goods, etc.

Central Asia also traded at this time with India, Iran and China but the volume and significance of this trade has not been adequately studied. It is interesting that in Bukhara an entire locality was populated by Indian traders. Ubeidullah-Khan justly saw a big gain for the state in development of foreign trade and

36. Rychkov P.I., 1949; Chuloshnikov A., 1932; Ziyaev Kh. Z., 1962; 1965; Yuldashev M.V., 1964; Jamolov K., 1966.

tried to take steps for betterment of its conditions. But this was a short-lived episode which was nullified by the growing economic decline. Florio Beneveni who lived in Bukhara in 1722 A.D. and specially studied the question of trade, noted that there were no conditions for its development although there were goods in mutual demand for Bukhara and Russia.³⁷

3. Material and Spiritual Culture

Architecture and Art

The peculiarities of economic and socio-economic life in the 17th-18th centuries were vividly reflected in architecture also. The influence, power and wealth of the feudal top brass of the Uzbek tribes – amirs – was growing. Cities and entire regions were sometimes actually in their hands. They had money for construction and by this already traditional method they thought of glorifying and perpetuating their names.

One of such dignitaries, Yalangtush-bii, started developing construction work on Samarkand Registan and created the ensemble which exists till our days. Opposite the *madrassa* of Ulug Bek (on the place where earlier the *khanaka* of Ulug Bek had existed) on his order architect Abd al-Jabar constructed a new *madrassa*. In the tympanums of the entrance portals of this *madrassa* are depicted wild animals pouncing on deers. From here is derived the name *madrassa shirdar* (i.e. having "lions"). The facade of *madrassa shirdar* is a copy of that of *madrassa* Ulug Bek. In the centre there is a portal, and corners are slim towers, between the portal and towers there are ribs-like domes — which are constructed above two auditoriums — *dars-khana*. But in details of planning and decor there are a lot of original and peculiar traits.

Sometime later on the third side of the square Yalangtush-bii started construction of the building which was profusely decorated with gold plates that it got the name *tilla-kari*. This is a *madrassa* and mosque simultaneously. On the three sides of the yard there

37. Beneveni F., 1853, pp. 376, 380-381.

are *hujras* and on the fourth side is a mosque (here there are a central domed place and two galleries with numerous domes).

As a result we get a square open from one side, and from the three other sides it consists of richly designed and exquisitely decorated main facades of three monumental structures.

The other large ensemble was completed in the 17th century in Bukhara. One of the main parts of the ensemble is the big reservoir, from here is derived its name *lab-i-hauz*. The building of the future ensemble was constructed earlier in 16th century — it is the *madrasa* Kukeltash. In the 17th century one of the famous dignitaries of that time, Nadir-Diwan-begi ordered to build a reservoir, a *madrasa* and a small *khanaka*. This ensemble is not so harmonious and balanced as the ensemble of Samarkand Registan and not so holistic. It looked like a monumental main façade of a *madrasa* of 16th century overlooking the square from one side of which there was a small *madrasa* of Nadir-Diwan-begi and from the other side was *Lab-i-Hauz* and behind the latter there was a small *khanaka*. The *madrasa* and reservoir with *khanaka* did not adequately balance each other and did not correspond to the *madrasa* of 16th century. The ensemble lacks both symmetry and compositional balance. The architect here showed neither taste nor talent. These structures of 17th century in themselves are of no great interest.

More interesting is the other Bukharan ensemble which was completed in 17th century. It consists of two *madrasas* constructed opposite each other: one is the *madrasa* of Uleg Bek of 15th century, and the other is the *madrasa* of Abd al-Aziz-Khan of 17th century.

They have much in common but also even more dissimilarities. The proportions of the façade of the *madrasa* of Ulug-Bek are characterised by harmony, decoration work is restrained and exquisitely simple. The façade of the *madrasa* of Abd-al-Aziz-Khan lacks harmony, portal is too much elongated, the side parts of the façade on the contrary are massive. The decoration is characterised by extreme splendour and pretentiousness.

If one were to speak of the 17th century as one of the stages in the development of the Central Asian architecture, it would

concern mostly the decorative work. The decorators of 17th century developed the traditions of the two preceding centuries and achieved sometimes creative successes. Particularly outstanding successes were achieved by *ganch* carvers. Alabaster stalactites in the Bukharan *madrasa* of Abd al-Aziz-khan are startling in their complexity, delicacy and somewhat airy heights. The majolics and assembled mosaics are widely used. Their designs are complex and intricate but colour scheme is more rough than in the 15th-16th century. The abundantly used yellow and green shades have been made extremely bright.

The number of manuscripts of 17th century available to us decorated by miniatures of local Central Asian painters, are not many. But even from these small number of samples it is clear that the traditions of Central Asian school of miniatures of 16th century received in the 17th century worthy continuation and development.³⁸ Particularly excellent are the miniatures-illustrations to *Zafarnama* of Sharaf ad-Din Yezdi. This manuscript copied in Samarkand in 1628 A.D. has 12 miniatures in it.³⁹ In battle scenes the miniaturist with amusing skill puts on miniatures a large number of figures and everyone of them is full of dynamic movement and gusto. For example, in the miniature depicting the siege of Herat by Timur there are 23 human figures and 18 horses. In the other miniature which illustrates the military campaign of Timur against the Golden Horde Khan Tokhtamysh are shown 20 persons engaged in fighting. No less crowded are the scenes of feasts of Timur. Here are dignitaries and guards, musicians, singers, reciters, wine waiters. The scenes are highly picturesque.

In the 17th century the art of portrait painting had not become extinct. Its example is the expressive portrait of Ilam Kuli-Khan drawn in 1642 A.D.⁴⁰

38. Pugachenkova G.A., and Rempel L.I., 1965, pp. 358-359; "Sredneaziatskie miniatury XVI-XVII.vv."

39. Semenov A.A., 1956, pp. 3-16.

40. Pugachenkova G.A., and Rempel L.I., 1965, pp. 360-361. On musical art see: Semenov A.A., 1946a.

The situation of the subsequent period was in no way conducive to development of construction, architecture and art. The first half of the 17th century is the period of economic dislocation, internecine wars, destruction of cities and villages, popular uprisings, raids of Khivans, intrusion of nomads and foreign troops. The central Maverannahr and Balkh region suffered particularly. The population fled, art centres like Bukhara and Samarkand were deserted. It is not surprising that this troubled and hard period did not leave any significant monuments of architecture and art.

The Tajik Fiction and Historical Chronicles in the 17th-beginning of 18th century

During the rule of the Janids were founded two literary centres — in Bukhara and in Balkh — where the residence of the heir of the then Amir was situated. In this period the Tajik literature developed more noticeably than in the 16th century. However, during the rule of Subhan Kuli-Khan the regime was so oppressive that some court poets were compelled to leave their native country and move to India.

If the court and officially Sufi literature went through a period of decline at this time, there developed among the city craftsmen poetry close in spirit to the common people. Here one can name Fitrat Zarduz Samarkandi, Obid Momtaz and especially outstanding poet Mirobid Saiido Nasafi.

Fitrat Zarduz Samarkandi was born in 1657 A.D. in the locality of gold embroiders in Samarkand. All his kinsmen were skilled embroiders and he himself mastered this art. In 1685 he went to Bukhara and joined the *madrassa* there. The life of the poet was very hard. Experiencing want he was compelled to sell his house. The buyer, rich man, deceived him and took away his house for a small sum. The poet avenged himself by writing a satire on him. Fitrat died in the beginning of 18th century.

In *taskara* it is noted that Fitrat was a master of both poetry and prose. From his heritage is available to us *masnavi* "Tolib and Matlub", one satire and several *gazals*. His *diwan* has not been found yet.

Saiido Nasafi (died between 1707-1711 A.D.) is the most outstanding poet of this period. He was a contemporary of Abd al-Aziz, Subhan Kuli-Khan and Ubeidallah-Khan and saw the sufferings of the poor people in conditions of harsh feudal oppression.

In the first period of his creative work, trying perhaps to find a patron for himself, Saiido came close to some representatives of the ruling top brass and under their influence dedicated several *kasids* to Abd al-Aziz and Subhan Kuli-Khan. But when he saw with his own eyes the court environment he decisively declined to have anything to do with it:

"It is better not to walk along the street of the rich,

From under the imprint of my foot gushes out a bloody spring":

Saiido loved his people from the bottom of his heart. He defended all the unfortunate and suffering people who approached him not only through his literary writings but also through his personal sympathy.

"Where ever I see the miserable I reach out to him

The thorn from this steppe will become the first flower in my basket."

Saiido dedicated his odes not to the celebrities and kings but to poor people, craftsmen and peasants and he perceptively described the life of this group of people. Such are his odes to the baker, to the painter and others. One of the central place among the works of Saiido is occupied by "Bahoriyat" ("The spring motives"). In this work he under the guise of animals depicted the representatives of different strata of feudal society and showed that the toiling people who are swarming under their feet like ants are in fact higher and if they unite they can overpower the lion.

In a number of his poems Saiido showed the unlimited sufferings of the toiling people during the rule of Subhan Kuli-Khan when on the one pole the rich flourish and on the other there was want and destruction. Thus he writes:

"The sky is like the torso of the bent old man

World is like a ravaged village

As the people of the world sucked each other's blood

The firmament is like a squeezed pomegranate
 Destiny took away water and greenery from the stream of
 flower garden

The soil in the garden is like a torn pocket.

In his colourful dress the wealthy man is like a worm wrapped
 in silk."⁴¹

Saiido Nasafi was the first poet in the Khanate who openly defended the toiling people and sharply criticised feudal regime. He is a talented poet, mouthpiece of ideas and aspirations of the toiling strata of population, particularly of craftsmen. These people occupy the main place in his works. In his outlook he went far ahead of his contemporaries. He declared the superiority of the toiling people over other strata of society, boldly asserted that the power of the toiling people is in their unity, and sharply criticised rulers accusing them of ignorance and savagery.

Saiido brought much that was new in the theme and form of poetry, continuing at the same time the best traditions of his predecessors. In *gazals* the traditional themes were contrasted by him with topics critical of the rulers and account of destruction in the state. He also expanded the theme of *kasida* to odes to the craftsmen. His "Bahoriyat" should be considered as a new form of didactic poetry. In literature of the post-sixteenth century the genre "shahroshut" received a new development in the works of Saiido. The poet also replenished the repertoire of artistic instruments by giving original metaphors and comparisons by attracting folklore, proverbs and sayings borrowed from spoken language.

Sufi ideology had to some extent a negative influence on the works of Saiidu. In his poems the impact of complex "Indian style" is also visible. But he used it creatively.

Most of the poets of the past tried to preserve untouched the norms of the language of classic literature. After the political events of the beginning of the 16th century, isolation of Iran from Maverannah, the preservation of the unity of language lost its sense, Saiido understood this and bravely broke the old tradition by introducing into poetry commonly understood popular words of

41. Mirzoev A.M., 1954, p. 18.

native spoken language. The language of his works is very close to the literary Tajik language of the present times.⁴²

The 17th century had its historians. One of the most outstanding chroniclers of this period was Mohammad ibn Wali. His work "Bakhr al-asrar fi manakib al-akhbar" (The sea of the secrets in the dignity of information) is a unique encyclopaedia consisting of four volumes the historical past of which encompasses the period from Chinghiz Khan to the Janids.

Another important work written by him at this time is "Tarikhi Saiid Rahim" (The History of Saiid Rahim).⁴³ This work though it does not describe the historical events in their strict sequence, however, contains much data about known persons, different constructions and literary works starting with the epoch of Timur till the 18th century.

In the valuable historical sources of this period can be included the work of Mohammad Amin Yarakchi which is called "Muhit at-tawarikh" (The Ocean of Stories). The author starting his historical narration from very old times, writes in detail about the transition under the Ashtarkhanids and brings his work down to the middle of the 17th century.

"Tarikhi Mukimkhani" (Mukim Khan's History) of Mohammad Yusuf Munshi is dedicated mainly to the history of the Janids till 1704 A.D. Lastly, a valuable historical source written at this time is "Ubeidallahnama" (The Book of Ubeidallah) of Mohammad Amin-i-Bukhari which is fully dedicated to description of the period of the rule of Janid Ubeidullah Khan and encompasses the events of 1702-1711 A.D.

42. Mirzoev A.M., 1954, pp. 159-162.

43. Rahim is a chronicler.

Abbreviations

ADD	: Avtoreferat Doktorskoi Dissertatsii
AKD	: Avtoreferat Kandidatskoi Dissertatsii.
APT	: Arkhitekturnye Pamyatniki Turkmenii, Ashkhabad.
Ar. SSSR	: Arkhitektura SSSR, M.
ART	: Arkheologicheskie raboty v Tadzhikistane. Dushanbe (Tr. II AN Tadzh SSR)
Biul AN SSSR	: Biulletin AN SSR. M.
Biul CAGU	: Biulletin Sredneaziatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Tashkent
W	: "Vizantskii Vremnik" L-M.
VDI	: "Vestnik Drevnei Istorii, M."
VI	: "Voprosy Istorid". M.
VIMK	: "Vestnik Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obschestva". S.Pb.
VS	: "Voennyi Sbornik", M.
VYa	: "Voprosy Yazykoznaniiya". M.
G Zh.	: "Gornyi Zhurnal". M.
DAN Yz SSR	: "Doklady Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR".
DAN Tadzh SSR	: "Doklady Akademii Nauk Tadzhikskoi SSR".
ETK	: "Ezhegodnik Turkestanского Kraja". Tashkent
Zh. MNP	: "Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Proshvescheniya" SPb..
Zh.S.	: "Zhivaya Starina". SPb.
ZVORAO	: "Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Russkogo Archeologicheskogo Obschestva". SPb, Pg.
ZIV	: "Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedaniya AN SSSR" M.-L.

- Z(I)RGO : "Zapiski Imp. Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obschestva" SPb.
- ZKV : "Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov pri Aziiatskom Muzei Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk (Akademicheskii Nauk SSSR). L.
- IAN : "Izvestiya (Imperiiskoi) Akademii Nauk". SPb.
- IV : "Istoricheskii Vestnik". M.
- IGAIMK : "Izvestiya Gosudarstvennoi Akademii Istorii Materialnoi Kultury". M.
- IZh : "Istoricheskie Zhurnal". M.
- IZ : "Istoricheskie Zapiski". M.
- Izv. VGO : "Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo Geograficheskogo Obschestva" M.
- Izv. OLEE : "Izvestiya Obschestva Liubitelei estestvoznaniya i etnografii". M.
- Izv. Tadzh. FAN SSSR : "Izvestiya Tadzhikskogo Filiala AN SSSR"
- II : Institut Istorii
- IIAE : Institut Istorii, Arkheologii i Etnografii
- IINT : Institut Istorii Nauki i Tekhniki.
- IM : "Istoriya Marksizma". M.
- IMKU : "Istoriya Materialnoi Kultury Uzbekistana", Tashkent.
- INA : Institut Narodov Azii AN SSSR
- IOON AN : "Izvestiya Otdeleniya Obschestvennykh Nauk Akademii Nauk Tadzhikskoi SSR". Dushanbe.
- IRGO : "Izvestiya Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obschestva" SPb.
- IYaLI : Institut Yazyka, Literatury i Istorii
- KSIV : "Kratkie Soobscheniya Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR" M.-L., M.
- KSIIMK : "Kratkie Soobscheniya Instituta Istorii Materialnoi Kultury AN SSSR, M. L., M.
- KSINA : "Kratkie Soobscheniya Instituta Narodov Azii AN SSSR" M.-L., M.
- KSIE : "Kratkie Soobscheniya Instituta Etnografii AN SSSR" M.-L., M.
- LOINA : Leningradskoe Otdelenie Instituta Narodov Azii AN SSSR.
- LU : "Literaturnyi Uzbekistan" Tashkent.
- MAR : "Materialy po Arkheologii Rossii". SPb.

- Mat-ly : "Materialy Yuzhno-Turkmenskoi, Arkheologicheskoi Kompleksnoi Ekspeditsii". M.-L., Ashkhabad.
- MIA : "Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR". Ya M.-L.
- MIYA : "Materialy i Issledovaniya po Indoevrapskim i Drugim Yazykam". M.
- MITAU : "Materialy po Istorii i Teorii Arkhitektury Uzbekistan". Tashkent.
- MITT : "Materialy po Istorii Turkmeni Turkmenia". M.L.
- MIUTT : "Materialy po Istorii Uzbekskoi, Tadzhikskoi i Turkmenskoi SSR".
- MOE : "Materialy Otdeleniya Etnografii". L.
- MSTK : "Materialy dlya statistiki Turkestanskogo Kraya" Edzhegodnik pod red, N.A. Maeva, vyp., I-V, SPb, 1872-1879.
- NAA : "Narody Azii i Afriki". M.
- NS : "Numizmaticheskii Sbornik". M.
- NTr. TGU : "Naukhnie Trudy Tashkentskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta"
- NE : "Numizmatika i Epigrafika". M.
- OVGE : Otdel Vostoka Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha
- OIT : "Ocherki po Istorii Tadzhikistana" Stalmabad.
- OON : Otdelenie Obschestvennykh Nauk, Otdelenie Pysskogo Yazyke i Slovesnosti Imp. Akademicheskikh Nauk. SPb.
- PV : "Problemy Vostokovedeniya". M.
- PLNV : "Pamyatniki Literatury Narodov Vostoka".
- PS : "Predneaziatskii Sbornik". M.
- PTKLA : "Protokoly Zasedanii i Soobscheniya Chlenov Turkestanskogo Kluba Liubitelei Arkheologii". Tashkent.
- RANION : "Rossiskaya Assotsiatsiya Nauchno-Issledovatel'skikh Institutov Obschestvennykh Nauk.
- RV : "Russkii Vestnik"
- RT : "Russkii Turkestan"
- SA : "Sovetskaya Arkheologiya"
- CAGU : Sredneaziatskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet. Tashkent.

- Sb. MAE : "Sbornik Muzeya Antropologii i Etnografii pri AN SSSR". SPb.
- SV : "Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie" M.-L., M.
- SGSTMA : "Sbornik Geograficheskikh Statisticheskikh i topograficheskikh Materialov po Azii". SPb.
- SIIA : "Soobscheniya Instituta Istorii Arkhitektury".
- SIITA : "Soobscheniya Instituta Istorii i Teorii arkhitektury Akademii Arkhitektury SSSR". M.
- SKSO : "Spravochnaya Knizhka Samarkandskoi Oblasti"
- SMSSDO : "Sbornik Materialov Statistiki Syr-Darynskoi Oblasti".
- SE : "Sovetskaya Etnografiya". M.—L.-M.
- TAN : Trudy Akademii Nauk
- TAE : Termezhskaya Arkheologicheskaya Kompleksnaya Expeditsiya
- TV : "Turkestanskije Vedomosti"
- TVORAO : "Trudy Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obschestva" SPb.
- TIYal : "Trudy Instituta Istorii, Iazyka i Literatury"
- TIE : "Trudy Instituta Etnografii"
- TOVE : "Trudy Otdela Vostoka-Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaazha"
- Tr. GIM : "Trudy Gosudarstvennogo" Istoricheskogo Muzeya
- Tr. IINT : "Trudy Instituta istorii Nauki i Tekhnologii" M.-L.
- Tr. IE : "Trudy Instituta Etnografii"
- Tr. Kirg. AEE : "Trudy Kirgizskoi Arkheologicheskoi Ekspeditsii"
- Tr. Kh. AEE : "Trudy Khorezmiskoi Arkheologicheskoi Ekspeditsii". M.
- Tr. Yz. GU : "Trudy Uzbekskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta". Samarkand
- Tr. lu. TAKE : "Trudy Iuzhno-turkmenistanskogo arkheologicheskoi Kompleksnoi ekspeditsii". Ashkhabad
- UZIVAN : "Uchenye Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR". M.
- UZLGU : "Uchenye Zapiski Leningradskogo Universiteta".
- UZMGU : "Uchenye Zapiski Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta"

- UZ TGU : "Uchenye Zapiski Tadjikskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta".
- EV : "Epigrafika Vostoka". L.
- AA : "Arts Asiatica". Paris
- AAH : "Akta Antique Hungarica". Budapest
- AI : "Arts Islamica". Paris
- AKGWG : "Abhandlungen der Koniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften". Berlin
- AM : "Asia Major". London
- AMS : American Numismatic Society. New York
- AO : "Arkhir Orientalny". Praha
- AP : "Ancient Pakistan" Peshawar
- AON : "Akta Orientalia Hungarica". Budapest
- ASPR : "American School of Pre-Historic Research"
- AWL : Academic der Wissenschaft und der Literatur. Wiesbaden
- BCI : "Bulletin of the College of Indoogy" Banaras.
- BI : Bibliotheca Indica: a collection of oriental works, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal
- BGA : Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum. Edidit M.J. de Goeja pare I-VIII, Lugduni Batavorum.
- BRIPIT : "Brief Report on the investigation of the Proto-Indian texts. Moscow
- BSO(A)S : "Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies". London Institution (University of London). London
- CAJ : "Central Asiatic Journal" International Periodical for the Languages, Literature, history and Archaeology of Central Asia". Wiesbaden.
- CHM : "Cahiers d'histoire mondiale" Neihatel
- CRAI(BL) : "Academic des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus des seances". Paris
- CSSS : China Society Sinological Series.
- DI : "Der Islam". Berlin
- ENR : "Economic History Review". London
- EI : "Enzyklopaedie des Islam", Geographisches, ethnografisches Worterbuch der muhammedanischen. Volker, Bd. I-IV, Leiden-Leipzig(1908) 1913-1934.

EI (New ed.)	: "The Encyclopaedie of Islam" New ed., Vol. I. Leiden—London, 1960.
ESC	: "Economies, Societies, Civilisations". Paris
EW	: "East and West" Roma
GMS	: "Gibb Memorial Series". Leiden
HO	: "Handbuch d'Orientalistik". Leiden-Koln
IF	: "Indogermanschen Forschungen". Berlin.
IHQ	: "The Indian Historical Quarterly", Calcutta
IJBIPS	: "Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies". London
ISHEWCC	: "International Symposium on History of Eastern and Western Cultural Contacts". Japanese National Commission of UNESCO.
IQ	: "Indian Quarterly" Calcutta
ISQ	: "The Islamic Quarterly"
JA	: "Journal Asiatique". Paris
JRAOS	: "Journal of the American Oriental Society"
JASB	: "The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal". Calcutta
JBORS	: "Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society"
JESHO	: "Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient"
JGIS	: "The JOURNAL of the Greater Indian Society". Calcutta
JIH	: "JOURNAL of Indian History". Madras
JNSI	: "Journal of the Numismatic Society of India".
JNES	: "Journal of Near Eastern Studies"
JRAS	: "The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland." London
JSS	: "Journal of Semitic Studies".
MAO	: "Monografie Archivu Orientalniho" Praha
MASI	: "Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India". Delhi
MCAAS	: "Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences". Connecticut
MDAFA	: "Memoires de la delegation archaéologique Française en Afghanistan". Paris
MDTB	: "Memoirs of the Deptt. of the Toyo Bunko"
MMAI	: "Memoirs de la mission archéologique en Iran"
MN	: "Museum Notes". New York

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| MNH | : | Museum of Natural History |
| MVAG | : | "Mitteilungen der Vorder asiatisch—Aegyptischen Gessellschaft". Leipzig |
| MW | : | "Muslim World" |
| NC | : | "Numismatic Chronicle" New Series. |
| NZ | : | "Numismatische Zeitschrift" |
| OBR | : | "Oriental and Babylonian Record". London |
| OTF | : | Oriental Translation Fund |
| PELOV | : | Publications de l'Ecole des langue orientales vivantes |
| PHT | : | Persian Historical Texts |
| PZGA | : | "Philogogus Zeitschrift fur das classische Alterthum". Gottingen-Leipzig. |
| PIHANS | : | Publications de l'Institut historique et archaeologique Neerlandias de Stanbul. Stanbul |
| PPMHU | : | "Papers Peabody Museum Harvard University" |
| RE | : | "Rauly's Real Encyclopaedic der classischaft"
Neue Blarbeitung, begonnen von G. Wissowa,
hrsg. von W. Kroll |
| RMP | : | "Rheinischen Museum fur Philologie" Bonn,
Frankfur am Main. |
| RN | : | "Revue numismatique". Paris |
| SBE | : | The Sacred Books of the East |
| SIAS | : | The Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies
Copenhagen |
| SPAW | : | "Sitzungsberishta der Preassichen Academic der
Wissenschaften". Berlin |
| TC | : | "Tamil Culture" |
| ZDMG | : | "Zeitshrift der Deutschan Morgenlandischen
Gessellschaft". Berlin |
| ZVTA | : | "Zeki Velidi Togan'a armagan" Istanbul |
| ZVSGIS | : | "Zeitschrift fur vergleich-hende Sprachforschung
auf dem Gebeite der indogermanischen
Sprachen". Berlin |

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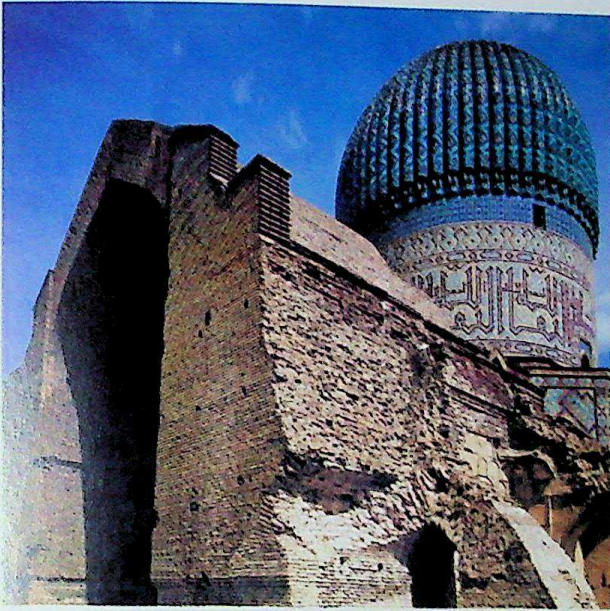
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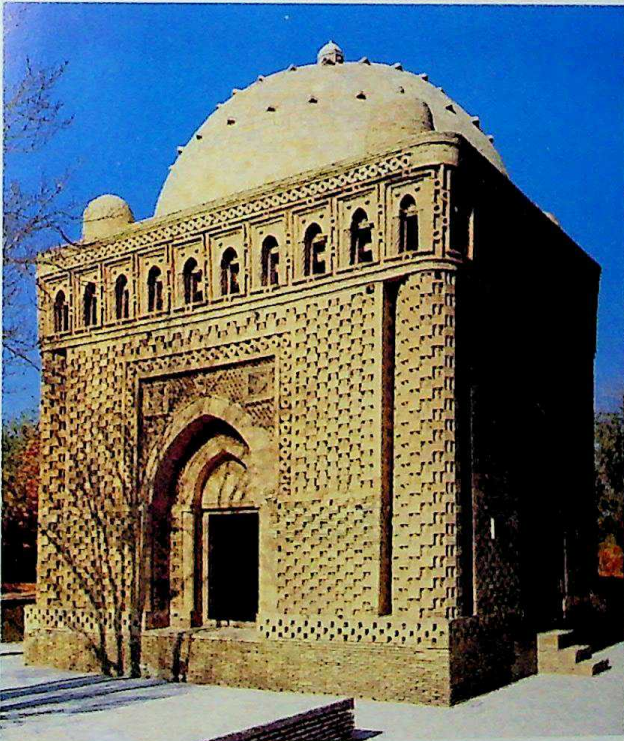
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View from the west of the Tomb of Gur-Emir. 1404-5



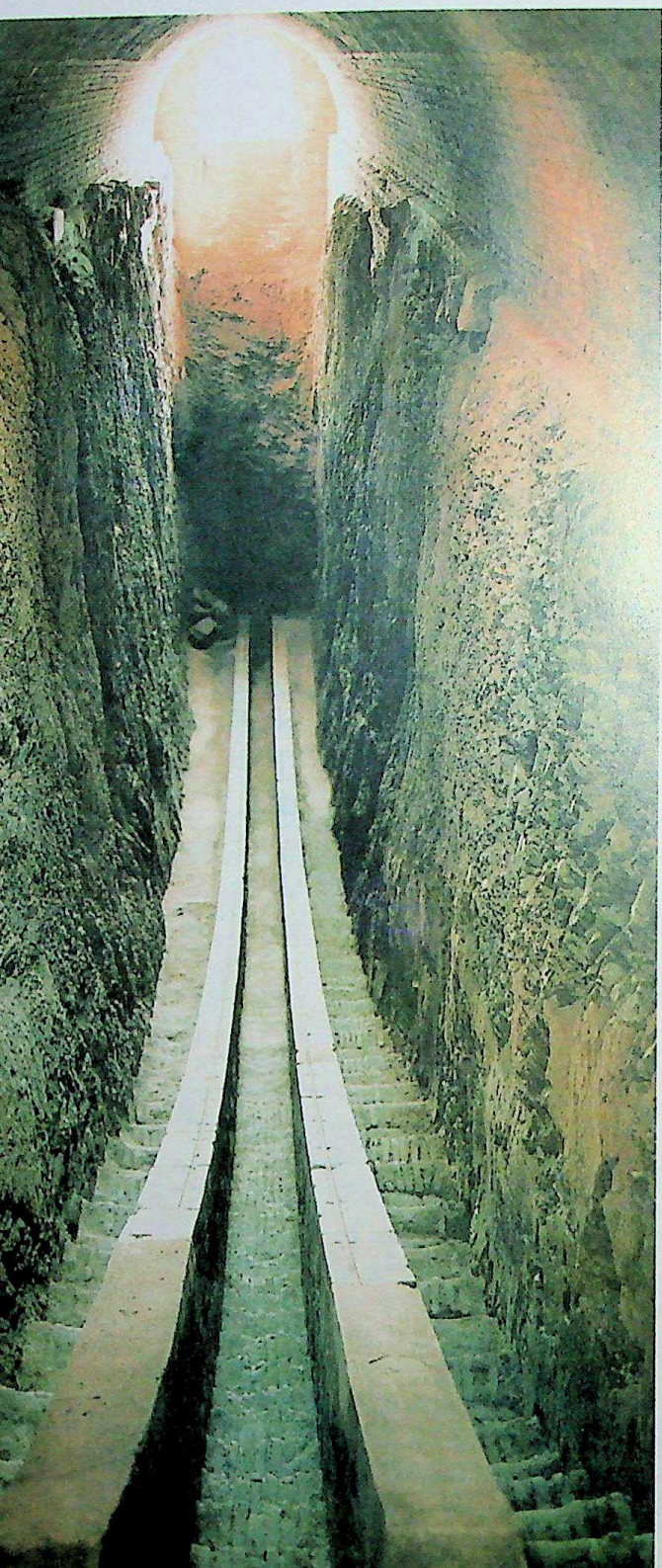
The Tomb of the Samanids, turn of the 9th and 10th centuries



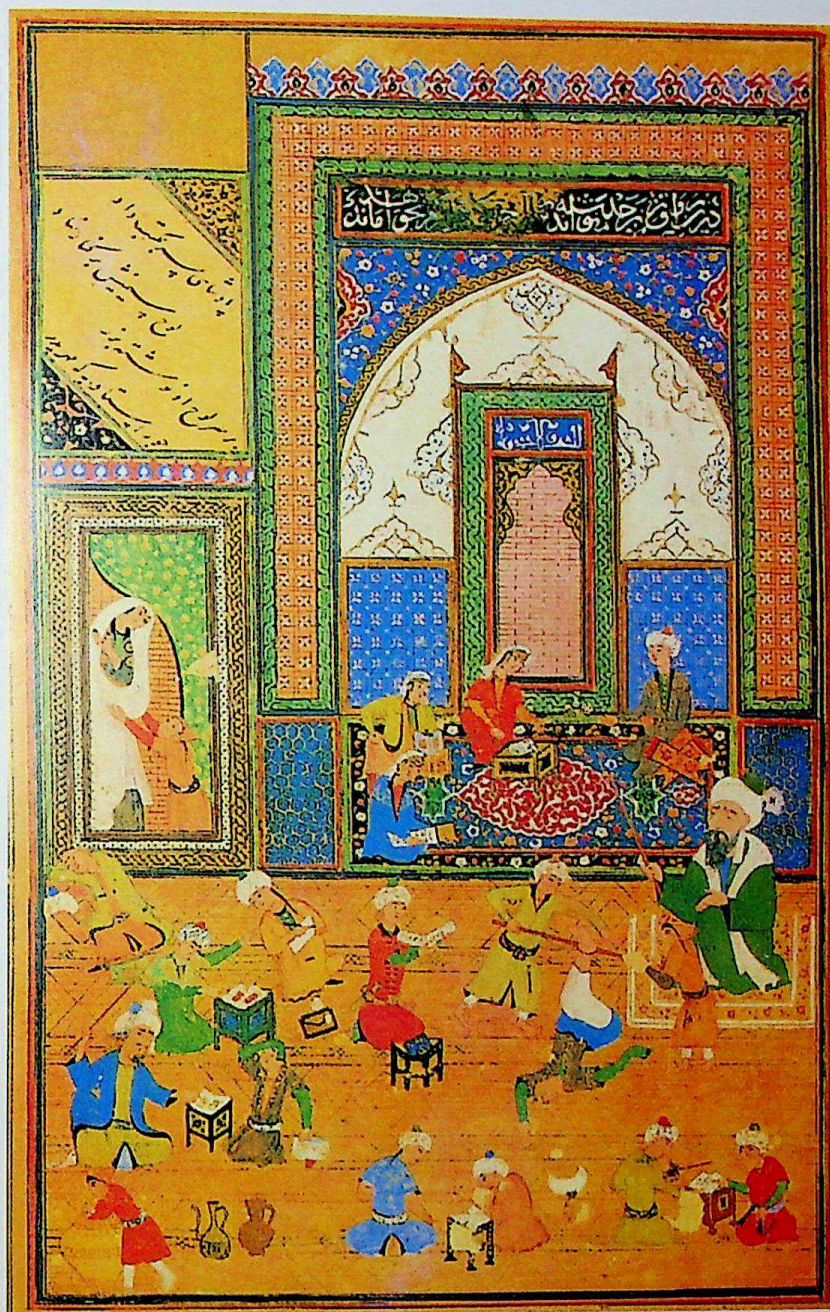
The Kalyan Minaret (1127) with part of the Poi-Kalyan ensemble



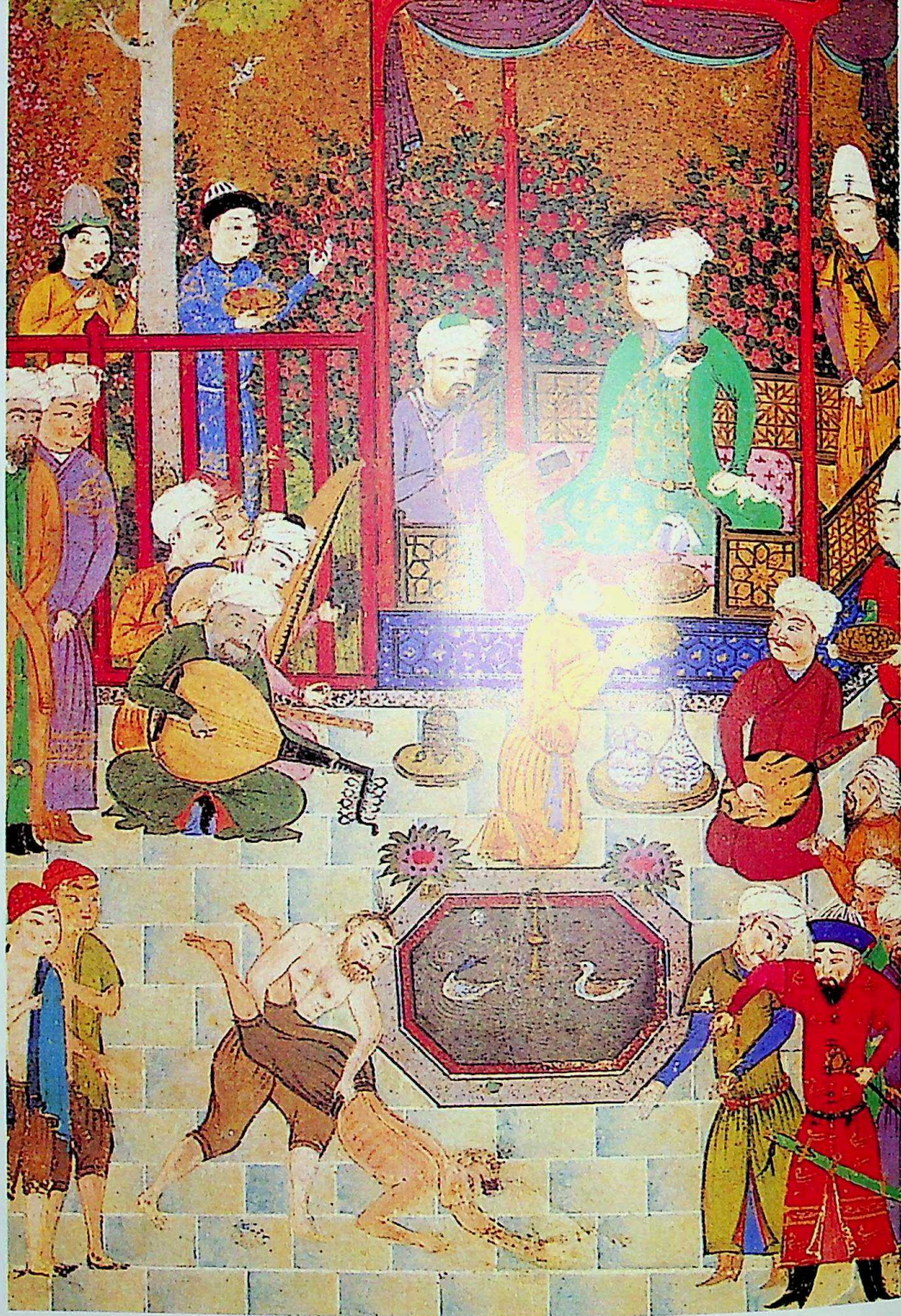
The Ulugh Beg Madrasah, 1417



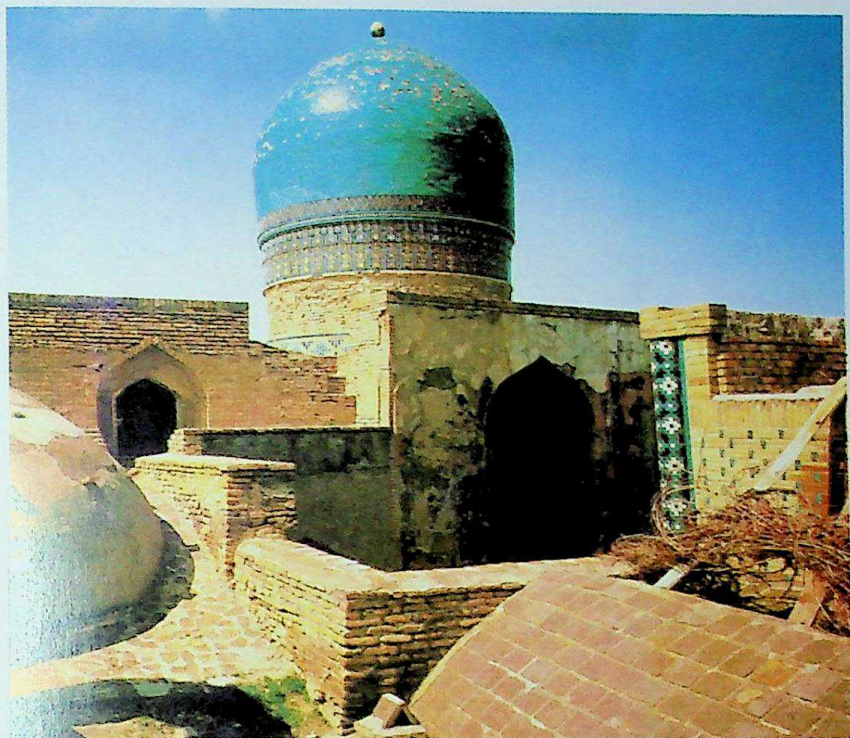
The observatory
of Ulug Beg
in Samarkand
(15th c.).



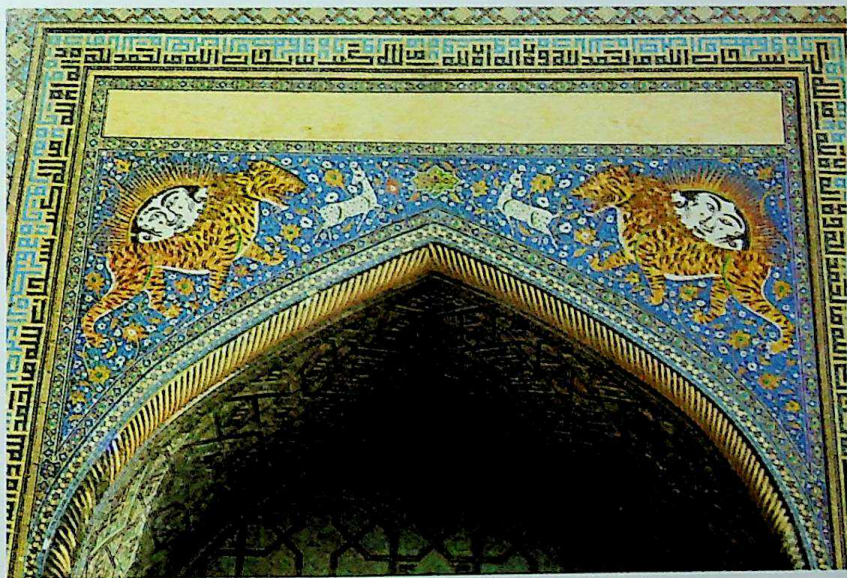
The School. Miniature (Bukhara, 1566-7), illuminating *Gulistan* composed by Saadi. Currently at the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library in Leningrad (Petersberg)



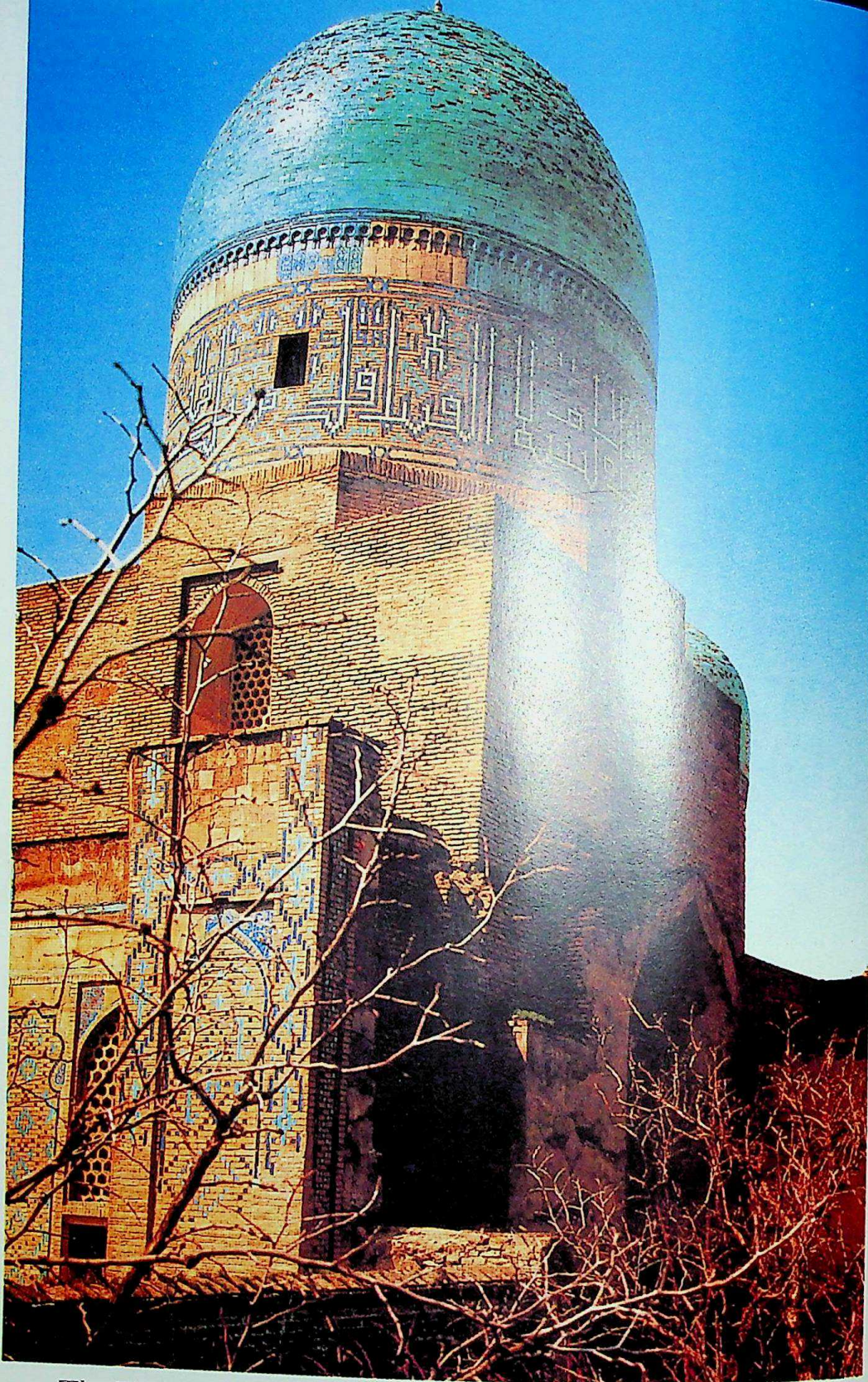
Wrestling Bout, a miniature from Firdousi's *Shah Nameh*.
An early 16th-century Bukharan MS currently in the possession
of the Leningrad Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences
Institute of Oriental Studies



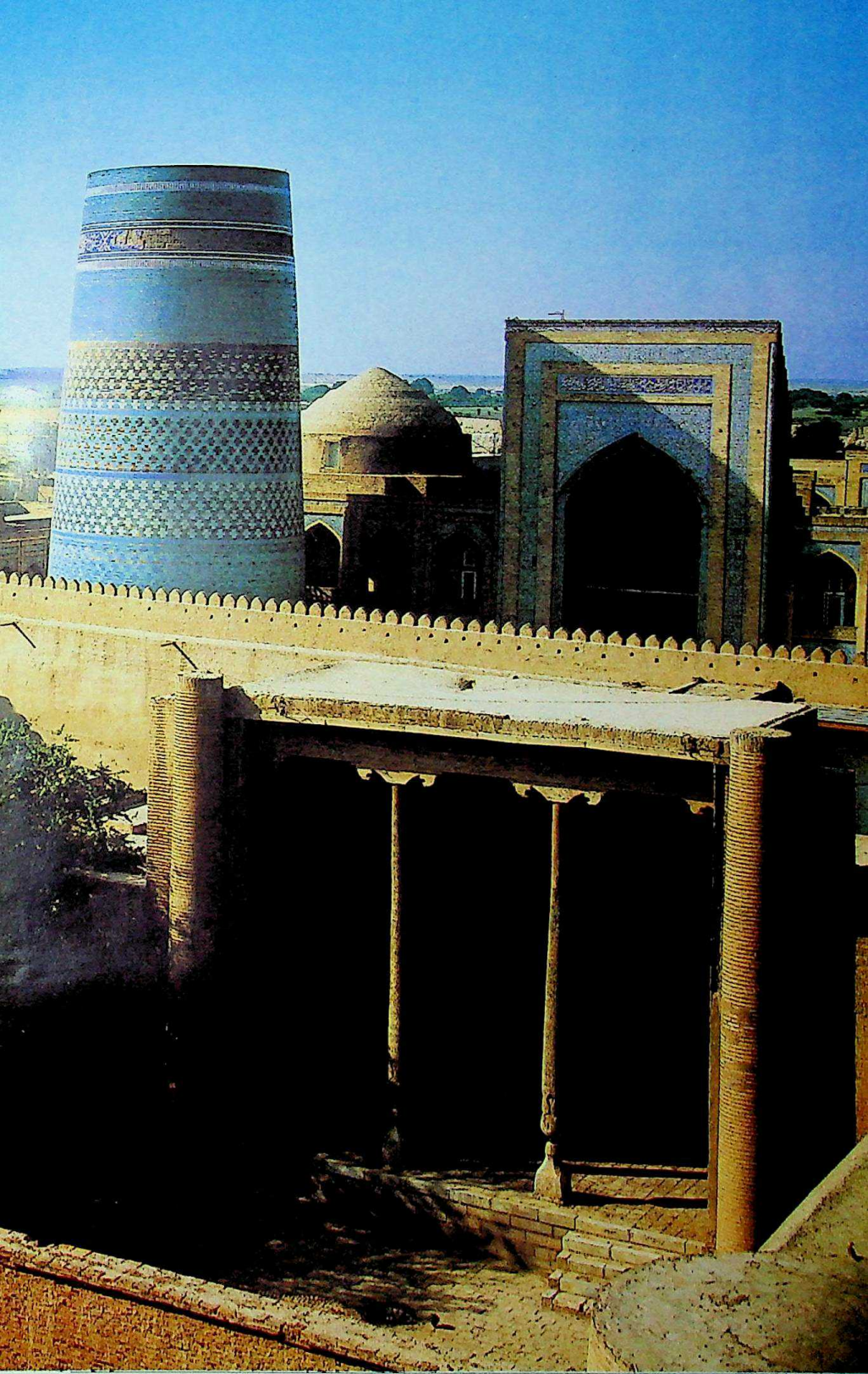
The Tomb of Tuman-aka, the Shah-i-Zindeh Necropolis
in Samarkand



Detail of the portal of the Shir-Dor Madrasah



The Twin-Domed Mausoleum, the Shah-i-Zindeh Necropolis
in Samarkand



Panoramic views of the Ichan-kala in Bukhara



The Reghistan with the Ulug Beg,
Tillah-Kari and Shir-Dor madrasahs

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